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CHURCH'S
PHILIP'S WAR.



PART II.





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No. III







CHURCH'S PHILIP'S WAR

PART II



The History

OF THE

Of 1689, 1690, 1692, 1696, and 1704

AGAINST THE INDIANS AND FRENCH

By BENJAMIN CHURCH

By HENRY MARTIN DEXTER



J. K. WIGGIN AND WM. PARSONS LUNT

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PREFATORY NOTE.

T was not anticipated, when the First Part of these "ENTERTAINING PASSAGES" was issued, in the summer of 1865, that so long a period would elapse before the publication of the Second Part, relating to the later Eastern Expeditions. But various labors and engagements have necessarily delayed the progress and completion of the work, both of editing and printing, until the present time. It is hoped that the kind welcome accorded to the portion relating to Philip's War may not be withheld from this completing glance at the later Indian warfare, which engaged the prowess, if it did not materially augment the fame, of the brave man from whose later reminiscences the story was set down.

The endeavor has been constantly in mind to make this a fit companion volume for the First Part,—in carefulness and abundance of illustration, in exact accuracy of reprint, and in all general features.

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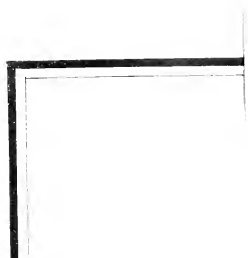
The map is a "True Coppy from an Ancient Plan of E. Hutchinson Esq. &c. &c.," which was reproduced from an engraving of 1753, to accompany Mr. S. G. Drake's late edition of Baylies's "Historical Memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth"; and has been kindly granted for use by that gentleman,—for whose varied courtesies in the preparation of these reprints their editor desires here to express his gratitude.

In addition to acknowledgments already tendered, it is due also that thankful mention should here be made of the kindness of Dr. A. G. WILBOR, of Boston, and Mr. A. E. CUTTER, of Charlestown, for the loan of copies of the rare first edition, to aid the accuracy of the work of revision.

H. M. D.

HILLSIDE, ROXBURY,
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HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.



WHEN the murder of *Sassamon*, in the winter of 167 $\frac{4}{5}$, led to the breaking-out of "Philip's War," Plymouth had been settled fifty-four years; Dover, fifty-one; Boston, forty-four; Wethersfield, forty; Providence, thirty-eight; and Kittery, twenty-seven. There appear to have been then, within the boundaries of what is now Maine, thirteen towns and plantations; * within what is now New Hampshire, † four; within what is now Massachusetts, sixty-four; ‡

* Kittery; York; Wells; Cape Porpoise; Saco; Scarborough; Falmouth; Pejepscot; the plantations on the Sagadahoc and Kennebec; Sheepscot and Capenewagen; Damariscotta; Pemaquid; Monhegan, with Gorges Islands and the opposite settlements upon the mainland.

† Dover, Portsmouth, Exeter, Hampton.

‡ Plymouth, Salem, Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Water-

town, Medford, Cambridge, Ipswich, Newbury, Springfield, Concord, Weymouth, Dedham, Braintree, Lynn, Hingham, Scituate, Duxbury, Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Gloucester, Rowley, Salisbury, Sudbury, Woburn, Reading, Eastham, Taunton, Marshfield, Haverhill, Wenham, Andover, Hull, Bridgewater, Manchester, Rehoboth, Marblehead, Middleborough, Medfield, Topsfield, Malden, Northampton, Chelmsford, Billerica, Groton,

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

within what is now Rhode Island, six; * within what is now Connecticut, twenty-three.† Vermont, as yet, was not. It is probable that the entire population of New England at this time, excluding Indians, was not far from eighty thousand.‡

The best computation suggests, on the same territory, at the same time, not far from 10,500 Indians, distributed among the tribes as follows:—

Pequots	1,200
Narragansetts	4,000
Pokanokets, Nausets, &c.	700
Massachusetts	1,200
Pautuckets	1,000
Nipmuks	2,400
	<hr/>
	10,500

When the war broke out, Josias Winslow was Governor of Plymouth Colony—where William Bradford had been dead seventeen years; Miles Standish, eighteen; Edward Winslow, nineteen; and William Brewster, thirty; and where John Howland had been dead scarcely one year.

Marlborough, Hadley, Hatfield, Dartmouth, Swansea, Amesbury, Beverly, Milton, Wrentham, Lancaster, Mendon, Deerfield, Brookfield, Sherborn, Edgartown, and Tisbury.

* Providence, Newport, Portsmouth, Warwick, Westerly, and New Shoreham (Block Island).

† Wethersfield, Hartford, Windsor,

New Haven, Guilford, Saybrook, Milford, Fairfield, Stratford, Greenwich, Stamford, Branford, Farmington, New London, Simsbury, Middleton, Norwalk, Stonington, Norwich, Killingworth, Lyme, Haddam, and Wallingford.

‡ See estimate of 78,416 in *Coll. Am. Statis. Assoc.* i: 141.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Indeed, of that one-half of the Mayflower's company (fifty) who survived the first year of the settlement, at least thirteen were still in the land of the living, though not all still within the limits of the Old Colony. George Soule and John Alden, in a hale old age, resided at Duxbury; and Susannah White — who had enjoyed the singular honor of being first the first mother in the new Colony, and then the first bride — was keeping still the house at Careswell, which her second husband, the honored Gov. Edward Winslow, had left to her possession. These three were already adults when they first saw the New World. And, of the children who romped along the Mayflower's decks, there were still living Resolved White, who seems now to have been a resident of Salem; Giles and Constantia Hopkins, both at Eastham, — the latter the widow of Nicholas Snow; Henry Sampson, of Duxbury; Joseph Rogers, of Eastham; Samuel Fuller, of Barnstable; Samuel Eaton, of Middleborough; (Rev.) John Cooke, of Dartmouth; Mary Allerton, — who was destined to be the last survivor of the Mayflower company, dying in 1699, æt. 89, — who still lived at Plymouth with her venerable and excellent husband, Elder Thomas Cushman, who came in the "Fortune," 1621; and Mary Chilton, now the recent widow of John Winslow, of Boston. Nathaniel Morton, who, five years before, had published his *New-England's Memoriall*, was still Secretary of the Colony.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

In Massachusetts, John Leverett was Governor, and Edward Rawson, Secretary. Here Winthrop and Shepard had been dead twenty-five years; John Cotton, twenty-two; Dudley, twenty-one; Saltonstall, sixteen; John Norton, eleven; Richard Mather, five; John Allin, three; and John Davenport and Charles Chauncy, two; and here Thomas Cobbett still lived at the age of sixty-six, John Eliot at seventy, and Simon Bradstreet at seventy-seven.

William Coddington was Governor, and John Sanford Recorder, of the "Providence Plantations," where Roger Williams was still hale and hearty (and ready to earn a new title as "Captain" in this war) at the age of seventy-five; and William Blaxton was very soon to be carried from his dreams among his folios to his rest on the banks of that beautiful river, which bears his name as it ripples by his grave.

John Winthrop (son of Gov. John of Massachusetts) was Governor of the now united Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven; where Samuel Eaton had been dead thirty-two years; Thomas Hooker, twenty-seven; Theophilus Eaton, seventeen; Samuel Stone, eleven; and John Warham, four.

The settlements in what is now Maine had at this time but a single Congregational Church. In what is now New Hampshire, there were three.* In what is now Vermont,

* One had been gathered at Exeter and no record exists of the formation in 1638, but it became extinct in 1641; of another until 1698.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

there was none. In Massachusetts, there were fifty-seven. In Rhode Island, there was none. In Connecticut, there were twenty-one.

These, with their pastors, — so far as known, — at the breaking-out of the war, were the following; arranged in the order of their formation:—

Plymouth (1620)	John Cotton, Jr.
Salem (1629)	John Higginson.
Boston, First Church (1630)	James Allen.
Windsor (1630)	Nathaniel Chauncey.
Watertown (1630)	John Sherman.
Roxbury (1632)	{ John Eliot.
	{ Samuel Danforth.
Lynn (1632)	Samuel Whiting.
Duxbury (1632)	John Holmes.
Marshfield (1632)	Samuel Arnold.
Charlestown (1632)	Thomas Shepard.
Hartford (1633)	Joseph Haynes.
Ipswich (1634)	Thomas Cobbet.
Newbury (1635)	Thomas Parker.
Hingham (1635)	Peter Hobart.
Weymouth (1635)	Samuel Torrey.
Cambridge (1636)	Urian Oakes.
Concord (1636)	{ Edward Bulkley.
	{ Joseph Estabrook.
Dorchester (1636)	Josiah Flint.
Springfield (1637)	Pelatiah Glover.
Taunton (1637)	George Shove.
Sandwich (1638)	John Smith.
Hampton (1638)	Seaborn Cotton.
Dover (1638)	John Reyner, Jr.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Salisbury (1638)	John Wheelwright.
Dedham (1638)	William Adams.
Quincy (1639)	Moses Fiske.
New Haven (1639)	Nicholas Street.
Milford (1639)	Roger Newton.
Barnstable (1639)	Thomas Walley.
Scituate (1639)	Nicholas Baker.
Rowley (1639)	Samuel Phillips.
Sudbury (1640)	Edmund Browne.
Stratford (1640)	No pastor.
Edgartown (1641)	No pastor.
Stamford (1641)	Eliphalet [?] Jones.
Wethersfield (1641)	Gershom Bulkley.
Woburn (1642)	Thomas Carter.
Gloucester (1642)	John Emerson.
Scituate, Second Church (1642) . .	William Witherell.
Guilford (1643)	Joseph Eliot. .
Hull (1644)	Zechariah Whitman.
Rehoboth (1644)	Noah Newman.
Haverhill (1645)	John Ward.
Andover, North (1645)	Francis Dane.
Reading, South (1645)	John Brock.
Topsfield (1645)	{ William Perkins.
	{ Jeremiah Hobart.
Manchester (1645)	No pastor.
Eastham (1646)	Samuel Treat.
Branford (1647)	John Bowers.
Saybrook (1646)	Thomas Buckingham.
Malden (1649)	Michael Wigglesworth.
Fairfield (1650)	Samuel Wakeman.
New London (1650)	Simon Bradstreet.
Boston, Old North (1650)	Increase Mather.
Medfield (1651)	John Wilson.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Norwalk (1652)	Thomas Hanford.
Farmington (1652)	Samuel Hooker.
Chelmsford (1655)	John Fiske.
Beverly (1657)	John Hale.
Hadley (1659)	John Russell.
Lancaster (1660)	Joseph Rowlandson.
Norwich (1660)	James Fitch.
Northampton (1661)	Solomon Stoddard.
Billerica (1663)	Samuel Whiting.
Wenham (1663)	No pastor.
Bridgewater, West (1664)	James Keith.
Groton (1664)	Samuel Willard.
Newton, Center (1664)	Nehemiah Hobart.
Marlborough (1666)	William Brimsmead.
Killingworth (1667)	John Woodbridge.
Mendon (1667)	Joseph Emerson.
Amesbury (1668)	Thomas Wells.
Middletown (1668)	Nathaniel Collins.
Boston, Old South (1669)	Thomas Thatcher.
Hartford, Second (1669)	Joseph Haynes.
Windsor, Second (1669)	Benjamin Woodbridge.
Woodbury (1670)	Zeechariah Walker.
Greenwich (1670)	No pastor.
Hatfield (1670)	Hope Atherton.
Portsmouth (1671)	Joshua Moody.
Tisbury (1673)	John Mayhew.
York (1673)	Shubael Dummer.

Besides these eighty-two regular Congregational churches, there were six or seven Indian missionary churches; five Baptist churches — one founded at Rehoboth (Swansey) in 1663, one at Boston in 1665, and three in Rhode Island:—the First Providence (1639), the First

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Newport (1644), and the Second Newport (1656);—a society of Friends, which had been formed at Newport in 1656–7; and a church of Seventh-day Baptists, formed at Newport in December, 1671.

We have seen that the estimated number of Indians on the territory of New England at this time, was between ten and eleven thousand. Of these, about four thousand were then reckoned as "Praying Indians," and seem to have been won to some comprehension and practice of Christianity. According to Gookin, whose "Historical Collections of the Indians in New-England" bears date 7th Dec., 1674,* just before the breaking-out of Philip's War, these were, in large part, distributed as follows, viz:—

<i>Nonantum</i> (Natick)	145	<i>Manamoyik</i> (Chatham)	71
<i>Punkapoag</i> (Stoughton)	60	<i>Sawkattukett</i> (Harwich), <i>Neb-</i>	
<i>Hussanamesitt</i> (Grafton)	60	<i>squassitt</i> , <i>Muttakees</i> , and <i>Wec-</i>	
<i>Okommakamesit</i> (Marlborough)	50	<i>quakut</i> (Yarmouth and Barnsta-	
<i>Wamesit</i> (Tewksbury)	75	<i>ble</i>)	122
<i>Nashobah</i> (Littleton)	50	<i>Satuit</i> , <i>Pawfoesit</i> , <i>Coatuit</i> , <i>Mash-</i>	
<i>Magunkaquog</i> (Hopkinton)	55	<i>pee</i> , and <i>Wakoquet</i> (Mashpee)	95
<i>Manchage</i> (Oxford)	60	<i>Codtanmut</i> , <i>Ashimuit</i> , <i>Weesquobs</i>	
<i>Chabanakongkomun</i> (Dudley)	45	(Mashpee and Sandwich)	22
<i>Maanexit</i> (N.E. Woodstock)	100	<i>Pispogutt</i> , <i>Wawayantik</i> , and <i>So-</i>	
<i>Quantisset</i> (S.E. Woodstock)	100	<i>kones</i> (Wareham and Falmouth)	36
<i>Wabquisset</i> (S.W. Woodstock)	150	<i>Cotuhtikut</i> , <i>Assoowamsoo</i> (Mid-	
<i>Packachoog</i> (Worcester)	100	<i>dleborough</i>)	35
<i>Wacuntug</i> (Uxbridge)	50	<i>Kitteaumut</i> (Sandwich)	40
<i>Meeshawn</i> and <i>Punonakanit</i> (Tru-		<i>Nope</i> (Martha's Vineyard) and	
<i>ro</i> and <i>Wellfleet</i>)	72	<i>Chappaquiddick</i>	1500
<i>Potanumaquut</i> and <i>Nawsett</i> (East-		<i>Nantucket</i>	300
<i>ham</i>)	44		

* Mass. Hist. Coll. i: 141–226.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

Rev. Richard Bourne, missionary among the Indians in the Plymouth Colony, reported, in 1674, that one hundred and forty-two could read their own language, seventy-two could write it, and nine could read English.*

It will be seen from this enumeration, that the seat of the successes of the benevolent labor of John Eliot and his compeers was upon the Elizabeth Islands, upon Cape Cod, and in the country neighboring Boston; the great inland and remoter tribes remaining wholly unreached or unaffected by them.

The general aspect of New England at this time, Dr. Palfrey has admirably sketched in a few words. He says: —

“Along a line of rugged coast, from the Penobscot to the Hudson, are scattered settlements of Englishmen, at unequal distances from each other, — closely grouped together about midway of that line, farther apart at the extremities. Almost all of them are reached by tide-water: a very few have been planted in detached spots in the interior; the most distant of these being about a hundred miles from the sea, whether measured from the east or from the south. The surrounding country is not occupied, but roamed over by savages.” †

Maine was yet rough and primitive, in the extreme, in the quality of its settlers. Rhode Island was the paradise of schemers and dreamers, and come-outers of all sorts; from the high-souled advocate of pure and entire toleration down to those fussy and unendurable champions of

* 1 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i: 197.

† *Hist. New England*, iii: 132.

queer and petty principles, who were such crooked sticks by nature that they could not lie still even there. Plymouth, badly situated both for commerce and culture, with no good harbor on her coast, and with her thin and sandy soil, had been able, even with the best efforts of her noble men, to move but very slowly forward in the path of empire. While, from the fact that her teachers were taken from her repeatedly by the superior attractions offered by wealthier neighbors, she had been compelled to occupy a lower place in the relative scale, than that to which she would have been entitled from the purity and worth of her founders, and her general patient industry. Massachusetts had advanced more rapidly. Every thing helped her, until she was strong, not merely relatively as compared with her neighbors, but as looked at from the mother-country across the sea. Connecticut, too, was thriving. She had plenty of good land, wise and thrifty oversight, and general prosperity.

Dr. Palfrey draws the picture of daily life with a skilful pencil; thus:—

“In the three associated Colonies, there is great similarity in the ordinary occupations and pursuits. Most adults of both sexes work hard, and nearly all the children go to school. The greater part of the men get a living by farm labor: they provide bread and meat, milk, butter and cheese, for their own tables, and raise stock to sell in the West Indies for money with which to buy foreign commodities. But they are not all farmers. A portion are lumberers, plying the axe

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

through the winter in the thick pine forests, and, at the return of spring, floating down their rafts to a sure and profitable market. Another portion are fishermen, familiar with the haunts of the cod, the mackerel, and the whale, and with all perils of the sea. In the principal towns, various classes of artisans pursue a lucrative trade. The country furnishes some staples for an advantageous foreign commerce; and, especially in Boston, not a few merchants have grown rich.”*

Peace had reigned in these Colonies since the close of the Pequot war in the spring of 1636, — nearly forty years. The last colonist who had gained experience in savage warfare in that short but fierce struggle was now dead, or too old for service; while the youngest immigrants who had been trained to arms abroad were now in the same category. Slight and temporary misunderstandings and quarrels had taken place now and then; but the wise and scrupulously just policy which the Pilgrims at Plymouth had first initiated with the good Massasoit, had prevailed, and borne its natural and pleasant fruit. On the whole, the state of the Indians had been improved by the settling of the English at their side. Though they had parted with a good deal of the land over which they had been accustomed to roam, they had still enough reserved for their present wants. They had bettered their position, in their fight with nature for food and shelter, by many implements and suggestions from the superior culture of their white neighbors. And although their exposure to

* *Hist. New England*, iii: 134.

the seductive "fire-water" had wrought them harm, and they were sometimes imposed upon by the cunning greed of crafty and unscrupulous settlers, the Colonial governments were always administered in the endeavor to do them justice and afford them protection; and the proceeds of their hunting, or of their slight farming, now found ready and remunerative sale. In the single matter of the — to the English undesired, yet gradually accomplished — exchange of his bow and flint dagger and stone tomahawk, for the musket, hatchet, and hunting-knife of the white man, the Indian gained, for the legitimate uses of his own savage life, more than all which he had lost from the advent of civilization to these shores.

Massasoit died in 1661-2, and was succeeded in the sachemship of the *Wampanoags* by his eldest son, Alexander [*Mooanam, Wamsutta*]. His life was short after his accession. In a few months' time, it was rumored that he was plotting with the *Narragansetts*, — the bugbear of the Colonies on the west, as the *Maquas* were on the northwest, — and the Plymouth government thought the matter of sufficient consequence to be looked into. It is not improbable that an impression had been for some time gaining ground, that when the venerable sachem, who had welcomed Bradford and Winslow and their company at *Patuxet*, and had become their abiding friend, had passed away, certain tendencies toward dis-

turbance, on which he had kept a tight rein, and which others had repressed through respect for him, might find development. So a message was sent to Alexander to come to Plymouth, and talk over affairs. He ignored the invitation. As the Court had broached the subject, they felt that the general safety required that their summons should not be disregarded in that way; so they sent an armed party, under Majors Winslow and Bradford, to find and bring him. They found him not far off, at *Monponset* (in Halifax), and then, "freely and readily, without the least hesitancy,"* he went with them. He told them that he had intended to come when first invited, but wanted to delay long enough to consult Mr. Willett, in whom he had confidence. Hubbard's story† is, that when he had been dismissed on the promise to send his son as a hostage, he was so enraged at the indignities put upon him, that he fell into a fever, of which he died before he got half-way home. And out of this statement has grown the general representation, that his ill-treatment at the hands of the English was the means of his death, and was laid up as one prominent cause of the war, twelve years later. But the letter of Rev. John Cotton to Increase Mather, — which Judge Davis prints in the appendix of the *Memorial*, and which has every element of trustworthiness, — from the dictation of Major Bradford,

* Davis's *Morton's Memorial*, 426.

† *Narrative*, 9.

one of the chief actors, and a most competent witness, desiring expressly to correct Hubbard, puts an entirely different construction upon the event, and one intrinsically much more in harmony with the probabilities of the case. Mr. Cotton says, —

“Reports being here, that Alexander was plotting or privy to plots against the English, authority sent to him to come down. He came not. Whereupon Maj. Winslow was sent to fetch him. Maj. Bradford with some others went with him. At *Munponset* river (a place not many miles hence) they found Alexander with about eight men and sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating : and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander, freely and readily, without the least hesitancy, consented to go, giving his reason why he came not to the Court before ; viz., because he waited for Captain Willet’s return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first. They brought him to Mr. Collier’s, that day, and Governour Prince living remote, at Eastham, those few magistrates, who were at hand, issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did, part of the way : but in two or three days after, he returned and went to Maj. Winslow’s house, intending thence to travel into the Bay and so home ; but at the Major’s house he was taken very sick, and was, by water, conveyed to Mr. Bradford’s, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tetchquet river,* and thence, in canoes, home, and about two or three days after died.”

Upon his decease, his brother Philip [*Pometacom*] reigned in his stead. One of Philip’s first acts was to renew the ancient covenant between his father and the

* *Titicut*, or Taunton Great River.

colonists ; and five years passed quietly away, when a vague charge was made against him of being willing to plot with the French or Dutch against the English. This he denounced as a calumny of *Ninigret* of *Niantic*, and the matter subsided. After nearly four years more, another rumor of his treachery gained so much ground as to demand investigation, and awaken solicitude at both Plymouth and Boston. An investigation revealed proofs of bad faith on his part ; and a bad spirit was clearly manifested by him, when questioned concerning them. But this matter was finally issued in his renewed engagements of fealty. Three years passed again, when the Governor of Plymouth was informed by *Sassamon* — a “praying” Indian, who had been schoolmaster at Natick, and who, being able to write as well as read, had sometimes served Philip with his pen, — that there were suspicious circumstances in Philip’s camp, which gave color to the rumor that he was endeavoring to excite other sachems to war. This information was given under a demanded pledge of secrecy, as *Sassamon* said that Philip’s Indians would kill him if they suspected him as its source. It somehow leaked out to Philip’s ear, that the Governor of Plymouth had heard something to his disadvantage, and would send for him to come to the next Court to explain it. He therefore resolved to anticipate the matter by going without summons. He went to Ply-

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

mouth, accordingly, and saw the Assistants, — the Court not yet being in session, — and protested his innocence. They were not satisfied ; but hoped that he would be led to desist by his knowledge of their discovery of his plans, and so dismissed him in a friendly manner, with a warning, that, should further evidence come up, they should be obliged to demand his arms for safe keeping.

Philip went back to Mount Hope ; and, a few days after, *Sassamon* was missing. On search, his hat and gun were found on the ice of *Assawompset* Pond, in Middleborough, and his body under the ice. It was dragged out, and buried ; and afterwards exhumed and examined, when marks of violence indicating murder, and not accidental drowning, became manifest. Three Indians were soon arrested on suspicion, and tried by a jury, to which six grave friend Indians were added, to insure fairness in the verdict. An Indian came forward and testified, that, by accident, from the top of a hill, he had witnessed the scene, and that *Sassamon* had been murdered by these prisoners. One of the prisoners subsequently confessed that he had stood by while the others did the deed. The jury convicted and sentenced the murderers, the Indians concurring; whereupon two were hanged, and the third, after a respite of two or three weeks, was shot.

This seems immediately to have promoted the outbreak, which took place with very little delay; the first

English blood being shed on or about the 24th June, 1675.*

It has been usual to picture Philip as a great king, a sagacious warrior, and a far-sighted patriot; and to represent him as having been for years engaged in planning and perfecting a comprehensive conspiracy among all the Indian tribes on the New-England territory—and even upon that of New York—for the purpose of sweeping away, by one concerted blow, the hated white usurper, and of recovering to their own savage uses the whole of their ancient hunting-grounds. It has been usual to apologize for the ill success of the actual strife, by asserting that it was so hurried up by the death of *Sassamon*, that the first blow was struck before due preparations to follow it up could be completed.

Dr. Palfrey has shown, one would think to the general conviction, that there is a very small foundation of truth indeed on which to build this majestic, one might almost say magnificent, superstructure. He has shown that the English had used Philip habitually well; that he had no real grounds of complaint against them; that his frequent sales of land to them implies no unwillingness that they should have his hunting-grounds if they would pay for them, as they did; that he gave no indications of greatness, whether in council or conflict; that there is no proof

*

* See Part I. p. 18.

that he directed or approved those hostilities about Mount Hope with which the war began; that his movements immediately after indicated a much keener anxiety for his own personal safety than for the extinction of the colonists; that there is nothing to show that he directed the outbreaks which followed, and no evidence that he was personally present and active in any particular fight; that there was no manifestation of savage wisdom on the part of anybody in the management of the war; that attacks upon particular, much-exposed localities were delayed for weeks and months, which, if any such general conspiracy existed as has been claimed, it is incredible should not have been simultaneous, or nearly so, when they would have been overwhelming; that, instead of hastening to join his waning fortunes with the Eastern Indians, when misfortune pressed him in his ancient haunts,—as he could have done in two days' easy march,—Philip retreated to the den whence he had originally gone forth, and there was shot ingloriously, while, unattended, he was attempting to run away; and that the war was waged at the Eastward, after his death, with more vigor than during his life, for nearly two whole years. In short, Dr. Palfrey makes it out,—and, as it would seem, on the best evidence,—that, instead of being a far-reaching, well-organized campaign, what we commonly call "Philip's War" was merely a succession of unconsidered and indiscriminate murders

and pillages, taken up by one body of savages after another, as the intelligence of the attractive example of others reached them; and rightfully connected with his name mainly as having been led off by those bands who centred around *Sowams*, and over whom he had partial control.*

The coteremporaneous records do certainly bear out this general judgment. There is a tradition mentioned by Callender, † as derived both from the white settlers in the vicinity of Mount Hope and from those Indians who survived the struggle, that Philip and his elder chiefs were utterly averse to the war. Increase Mather never seems to have heard of the all-embracing conspiracy, or of Philip's great statesmanship. Even Cotton Mather — much as one would think he would have enjoyed it — never mentions either. Hubbard is the only early writer who says any thing on which the popular judgment could be based. He does say that Philip had been "plotting with all the Indians round about," &c.; but he gives only vague rumor from some prisoners, as his authority, and does not seem himself to have attributed to his own words the importance even which they might naturally convey.

Easton — it is difficult to decide how much of accuracy and weight is to be attributed to the testimony lately published in his name — gives the following account of an

* *Hist. New England*, iii: 223-229.

† *R.-I. Hist. Coll.* iv: 126.

interview which he asserts to have been held between Philip and some Rhode-Islanders just before the outbreak. He says:* —

“[Philip] came himself unarmed, and about 40 of his Men armed. Then 5 of us went over [Trip’s Ferry], 3 wear Magistrates. We fate veri friendly together. We told him our bifnes was to indever that they might not reseue or do Rong. They said that was well; they had dun no Rong, the English ronged them. We said we knew the English said the Indians ronged them, and the Indians said the English ronged them, but our Desier was the Quarrell might rightly be desided, in the best Way, and not as Dogs desided their Quarrells. The Indians owned y^t fighting was the worst Way; then they propounded how Right might take Place. We said by Arbitration. They said that all English agreed against them, and so by Arbitration they had had much Rong; mani Miles square of Land so taken from them, for English would have English Arbitrators; and once they were persuaded to give in their Arms y^t thereby Jealousy might be removed, and the English having their Arms wold not deliver them as they had promised, untill they consented to pay a roo^l, and now they had not so much fum or muny; y^t they wear as good be kiled as leave all ther Liueflyhode.

“We said they might chuse a Indian King, and the English might chuse the Governor of New Yorke, y^t nether had cafe to fay either wear Parties in the Diferance. They said they had not heard of y^t Way, and said we oneftly spoke, so we wear perfwaided if y^t Way had bine tendered they would have asepted. We did endeavor not to hear their Complaints, said it was not convenient for us now to confider of, but to indever to prevent War; said to them when in War against English, Blood was spilt, y^t ingaged all Englishmen, for we wear to be all under one King; we knew what their Complaints wold be, and in our Colony had removed some of them in sending for Indian Rulers in what the Crime concerned Indians Lives, which they veri lovingly

* A Relation of the Indyan Warr, by Mr. Easton, &c., pp. 7-16.

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

accepted, and agreed with us to their Execution, and said so they were able to satisfy their Subjects when they knew an Indian suffered duly, but said in what was only between their Indians and not in Townships, y^t we had purchased, they would not have us prosecute, and y^t they had a great Fear to have any of their Indians should be called or forced to be Christian Indians. They said y^t such were in every thing more mischievous, only Dissemblers, and then the English made them not subject to their Kings, and by their lying to wrong their Kings. We knew it to be true, and we promising them y^t however in Government to Indians all should be alike, and y^t we knew it was our King's will it should be so, y^t altho we were weaker than other Colonies, they having submitted to our King to protect them, others dared not otherwise to molest them; expressed they took that to be well, that we had little Cause to doubt, but that to us under the King they would have yielded to our Determinations in what any should have complained to us against them.

“But Philip charged it to be dishonestly in us to put of the Hearing to inst Complaints, therefore we consented to hear them. They said they had been the first in doing Good to the English, and the English the first in doing Wrong; said when the English first came, the King's Father was as a great Man, and the English as a little Child; he constrained other Indians from wronging the English, and gave them Corn and shewed them how to plant, and was free to do them any Good, and had let them have a 100 Times more Land than now the King had for his own People. But their King's Brother, when he was King, came miserably to die by being forced to Court, as they judge poisoned. And another Grievance was if 20 of these honest Indians testified that an Englishman had done them Wrong, it was as nothing; and if but one of their worst Indians testified against any Indian or their King, when it pleased the English it was sufficient. Another Grievance was, when their King sold Land, the English would say, it was more than they agreed to, and a Writing must be proved against all them, and sum of their Kings had done Wrong to sell so much. He left his People none, and sum being given to Drunkens the English made them drunk and

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

then cheated them in Bargains, but now ther kings wear forwarned not for to part with Land, for nothing in Cumpariſon to the Value thereof. Now home the Engliſh had owned for King or Queen, they wold diſinheret and make another King that wold give or ſell them theſe Lands; that now, they had no Hopes left to kepe ani Land. Another Grievance, the Engliſh Catell and Horſes ſtill increaſed; that when thay removed 30 Mile from where Engliſh had ani thing to do, thay could not kepe ther Corn from being ſpoyled, thay never being iuſed to fence, and thoſt when the Engliſh boſt Land of them thay wold have kept their Catell upon ther owne Land. Another Grievance, the Engliſh were ſo eager to ſell the Indians Lickers, y^t moſt of the Indians ſpent all in Drynknes, and then rauewed upon the ſober Indians, and thay did believe often did hurt the Engliſh Catell, and ther King could not prevent it.

“We knew before, theſe were their grand Complaints, but then we only indevered to perſuaid y^t all Complaints might be righted without War, but could have no other Anſwer but that thay had not heard of that Way for the Governor of Yorke and an Indian King to have the Hearing of it. We had Caſe to think in y^t had bine tendered it wold have bine accepted. We indevered y^t however thay ſhould lay downe the War, for the Engliſh wear to Strong for them; thay ſaid, then the Engliſh ſhould do to them as they did when thay wear to ſtrong for the Engliſh.

“So we departed without ani Diſcurtiouſneſs, and ſudingly had Letter from Plimoth Governor thay intended in Arms to conforem Philip, but no Information what y^t was thay required, or w^t Termes he reſuſed to have their Quarrell deſided; and in a Weke’s Time after we had bine with the Indians the War thus begun.”

If this is authentic, it is interesting, and indicates the utmost that—from his side of the question—a wily savage could then suggest in extenuation of the proposed outbreak. The insinuated poisoning of Alexander may

have been the utterance of an honest suspicion on the part of Philip and his friends: it sounds more like an advantage taken of the impossibility of contrary proof, to urge a conscious and mischievous slander. Nor is there any thing in what Easton says to give color to the notion of a general conspiracy among all the tribes to crush out the whites.

The results of the war were heavy to the Colonies. Ten or twelve towns were utterly destroyed, and two-score of others more or less damaged and depopulated. From five to six hundred men fell in the various fights, were murdered in stealthy assaults, or were carried away captive, never to return. More than £100,000 were expended in the struggle; and, at its close, it is estimated that the Old Colony was left under a debt which exceeded the value of the entire personal property of its people! As a natural consequence, the Plymouth Colonists were nearly discouraged. But, from her thin soil and her various industries, she gradually pushed on to square herself with the world, until she had paid the last dollar of principal and interest!

The causes which aroused those later hostilities, which called out the several Eastern Expeditions recounted in this Second Part, were not different essentially from those which lay at the root of "Philip's War," except as the intermeddling of the French may have had to do with

exciting, exasperating, and sustaining them. The Indians grew more and more dissatisfied as they saw the Colonists advancing in wealth and power, and every year fixing themselves with a firmer hold upon the soil. It was this inherent hostility between a savage race and that civilized one which it sees to be too strong for it, and to be menacing its future, added to the Indian's natural love for blood and pillage, which stimulated attacks which were sought to be excused by pretences that this treaty had not been faithfully kept, or that promise had not been honestly performed.

It may be doubted, however, whether even the fierce savage of the eastern wilds would not have chosen to retreat from the coasts toward the Five Nations without risking the chances of conflict, if he had not been urged on and aided and abetted even in his brutalest work, by the deadly hatred then borne by the French settler to his English competitor; in which the old hostility of race was supplemented and intensified by the ferocity of Jesuit-fanned fanaticism.

When the echoes of the last hearty war-whoop died away among the New-England hills, a new leaf was turned in her history. Even her strong men breathed freer as they wrought along her frontiers; and her women slept sweeter, with their little ones around them, everywhere under the deep shadows of her ancestral woods.



HISTORY
OF THE
EASTERN EXPEDITIONS.



A further Account of the Actions in the more later Wars against the Common Enemy and *Indian* Rebels in the Eastern Parts, under the Command of the aforefaid Capt. *Benj. Church*.¹

IN the time of Sir *Edmund Andros*'s² Government, began that bloody War in the Eastern Parts of *New-England*; so that immediately Sir *Edmund* sent an Exprefs for Capt. *Church*; who then being at *Little Compton*,³ received it on a Lords Day⁴ in

¹ See Introduction, for some account of the causes which led to these "more later wars."

² *Sir Edmund Andros* was born in Guernsey in 1632; went into the army, where, through favor of the Duke of York, he received promotion; in 1664 was appointed Governor of the Duke's territories in America; arrived at New York 31 Oct., 1674; soon began to supervise the moral and religious, as well as the civil affairs of the people; in 1675, attempted in vain to extend his authority over Connecticut. In Feb., 1685, the Duke of York, succeeding to the throne as James II., appointed Andros Governor of all the New-England Colonies except Connecticut. He arrived at Boston 20 Dec., 1686, and began to remove old officers, overturn existing institutions, and enter upon a practical despotism. 12 Jan., 1687, he assumed the Government of Rhode Is-

land; and, 13 June, that of Connecticut, which he claimed by supplementary instructions. After the news of the landing of the Prince of Orange reached Boston, an insurrection took place there 18 April, 1689, and Andros was imprisoned. In Feb., 1690, he was sent home to England, by command of William III., who, in 1692, appointed him Governor of Virginia, where he for the first time had a popular administration, but returned to England in 1699; was Governor of Guernsey from 1704 to 1706; and died in London, Feb., 1714, at the age of 82. [*Governors of Mass. Bay*, 403-422.]

³ Capt. Church must have been at *Saconet* on a transient visit, as he was at this time a resident of Bristol. [See *Introductory Memoir*, Part I., of this work, p. xxviii.]

⁴ The date of this occurrence would seem to be approximately fixed by the

the afternoon Meeting; going home after Meeting, took his Horse and set out for *Boston*, as ordered; and by Sunrise next Morning got to *Brantry*,⁵ where he met with Col. *Page*⁶ on Horse-back, going to *Weymouth* and *Hingham* to raise Forces to go East; who said he was glad to see him, and that his Excellency would be as glad to see him in *Boston* so early: so parting, he soon got to *Boston*,

probability that it must have been between the 20 Oct., 1688, when Andros issued his proclamation seeking to secure peace among the Eastern Indians, and that time in the following November (Hutchinson [*Hist. Mass.* i: 331] says "in the beginning of November"; Willis [*Hist. Portland* (ed. 1865), 274] says "early in November"; Williamson [*Hist. Maine*, i: 589] says "late in November"), when he started, with his force of 700 or 800 men, for the Eastern country.

⁵ What was then known as Braintree is now known as Quincy; the present Braintree being at that time called *Monatiquot*. [*Address at the opening of the new Town Hall in Braintree*, July 29, 1858, by Hon. C. F. Adams, 67; *Vinton Memorial*, 463].

⁶ *Nicholas Paige* was in Boston in 1665; married Ann, daughter of Edward Keayne, and widow of Edward Lane (which Ann was tried for adultery 23 May, 1666, and made confession of "much wickedness"); served in Philip's War, and was witness to articles of peace with the Narragansetts 15 July, 1675; was Captain of one of the companies raised in Boston on the over-

throw of Andros; was Captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1695. He is called "Lt. Coll." in 1688. He died, probably, late in 1717. In the repairs made, in 1863, upon the University Library building in Leyden, Holland, there were found under the floor of that room which for many years was used as a chapel by the Scotch Presbyterian Church, six memorial stones, and parts of twelve bodies. One of the stones bore the following inscription:—

Here lieth buried *Edward Paige*, only son of *Nicolas* and *Anna Paige*, born at Boston in New England, Feb. 20, 1622, died in Leyden, Nov. 1, 1680, N.S.

The first date should, of course, be 1662, and this is clearly the *Edward Lane* of whom Savage speaks [*Gen. Dict.* iii: 50] as the son, of that birth-date, of his mother while still the wife of Edward Lane; whose name, for some wife reason, was changed to that of his mother's second husband, after her second marriage. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iii: 332. *Mass. Col. Rec.* iv (pt. 2): 309; *Drake's Hist. Bost.* i: 482. *Leyden MSS.*]

and waited upon his Excellency; who informed him of an unhappy War broke out in the Eastern Parts; and said he was going himself in Person, and that he wanted his Company with him: But Capt. *Church* not finding in himself the same Spirit he us'd to have,⁷ said, he hop'd his Excellency would give him time to consider of it. He told him he might; and also said that he must come and Dine with him. Capt. *Church* having many acquaintance in *Boston*, who made it their business some to encourage, and others to discourage him from going with his Excellency.⁸ So after Dinner his Excellency took him into his room and discours'd freely; saying that he having knowledge of his former Actions and Successes; and that he must go with him, and be his Second, with other encouragements. But in short, the said Capt. *Church* did not accept, so was dismissed, and went home.

Soon after this was the Revolution, and the other Government Re-assumed;⁹ and then Governour *Broadstreet*¹⁰

⁷ This can scarcely refer to any feeling incident to advancing age, for Capt. Church was not yet 50.

⁸ Andros was at this time so unpopular, that very few persons in Boston would then be apt to advise a friend to aid him, or undertake any thing under him.

⁹ The smothered flame broke out into the arrest of the Governor, a portion of his Council, and other obnoxious persons—about 50 in all—on Thursday, 18 April, 1689. On the 22 May, the representatives of 54 towns met in Bos-

ton; and, two days after, Gov. Bradstreet and the Magistrates who had been chosen in 1686, resumed the direction of affairs. [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* i: 333-344.]

¹⁰ *Simon Bradstreet* was born—the son of a Non-Conformist minister—at Horbling, in Lincolnshire, in March, 1603; took A.B. 1620 and A.M. 1624, at Emanuel College, Cambridge; was steward of the Earl of Lincoln; and then of the Countess of Warwick; came with Winthrop in the “*Arbella*,” 1630; settled in Newtown (Cambridge),

sent for Capt. *Church* to come to *Boston*, as soon as his business would permit: Where-upon he went to *Boston*, and waited upon his Honour;¹¹ who told him he was requested by the Council to send for him, to see if he could be prevailed with to Raise Volunteers both *English* and *Indians* to go East; for the Eastward *Indians* had done great spoil upon the *English* in those Parts;¹² giving him an account of the Miseries and Sufferings of the People there: Capt. *Churches* Spirits being affected, said, If he could do any Service for his Honour, the Country, and their relief, he was ready and willing: His advice was asked, How he would act, he said, He would take with him as many of his old Souldiers as he could get, both *English* and *In-*

lived afterward at Ipswich, Andover, Boston, and Salem. He was the first Secretary of the Mass. Colony; Commissioner of the United Colonies; Deputy Governor 1672-9; afterward Governor until 1686; was the head of the moderate party, but opposed Andros's arbitrary acts, and resumed his place at the head of affairs when Andros was deposed, where he continued until Sir William Phipps came, in 1692, with the new Charter. He died 27 March, 1697, aged 94. He married (1) Ann, daughter of Gov. Thomas Dudley, by whom he had Samuel, Dorothy, Sarah, Simon, Hannah, Mercy, Dudley, and John; (2) Ann, widow of Capt. Joseph Gardner, and daughter of Emanuel Downing. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 236; *N. E. Hist.* & *Gen. Reg.* i: 75.]

¹¹ The date of this is approximately fixed by cotemporary documents. Gov.

Bradstreet wrote to Gov. Hinckley, 17 July, 1689, "We have written to Capt. Church"; and 2 Aug., 1689, "Capt. Church having also been written to from hence thereabouts, who is now here with the Council treating about that affair," &c. [Hinckley Papers, 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* v: 204-5.]

¹² In April, 1689, the Indians renewed hostilities at Saco; and 27 June, Cochecho (now Dover, N.H.) was surprised, and Maj. Waldron and 23 others were killed, and 29 were taken captive, and sold to the French in Canada. 2 Aug., Pemaquid was destroyed, and the inhabitants East of Falmouth (Portland, Me.) withdrew in terror to that town, or removed to other places of supposed security. [Mather's *Magnalia* (orig. ed.), Book vii: 64-5; Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, i: 610; Willis's *Hist. Portland*, 275.]

dians, &c. The Gentlemen of *Boston* requested him to go [56] to *Rhode-Island* Government to ask their assistance: So giving him their Letter, and about 40 s. in Money, he took leave and went home to *Bristol* on a Saturday; and the next Monday Morning he went over to *Rhode-Island*, and waited upon their Governour,¹³ delivering the Letter, as ordered; pray'd his Honour for a speedy answer:¹⁴ who said, they could not give an answer presently; so he waited upon them till he had their answer; and when he had obtained it, he carryed it to the *Boston* Gentlemen; who desired him to Raise what Volunteers he could in *Plymouth* Colony,¹⁵ and *Rhode-Island* Government, & what was wanting they would make up out of their's that was already out in the Eastern Parts. The Summer being far spent Capt.

¹³ *Walter Clark*, eldest son of Jeremiah of Newport, was born about 1639; was a Quaker; was freeman in 1665; 6 Nov., 1672, was member of a committee to audit the accounts between the Colony and its creditors; in 1673 and 1674 was on the committee to see that the election was conducted in an orderly manner; 2 May, 1676, was chosen Governor; for many years afterward was Deputy Governor, and then Governor again in 1686, and once more in 1696; died 22 May, 1714, aged 74. He married (1) Content —, who died March, 1666; (2) Hannah, daughter of Richard Scott, who died 24 July, 1681; (3) Freeborn, daughter of Roger Williams, and widow of Thomas Hart, who died 10 Dec., 1709; (4) Sarah, daughter of Matthew Prior,

and widow of John Gould. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* i: 403; *R.-I. Col. Rec.* ii: 147, 481, 483, 517, 541; iii: 30, 186, 312.]

¹⁴ When the Revolution ousted Andros, the old Charter Government was resumed in Rhode Island, but the "wary Clark"—who had been Governor when Andros arrived and seized the State—"hesitated to accept his former post; and for ten months Rhode Island was without an acknowledged Governor." [*Arnold's Hist. R.-I.* i: 512.] It was during these ten months that Church "waited upon him"; whence the difficulty of giving "an answer presently" finds ready explanation.

¹⁵ Plymouth Court met 14 Aug., 1689, and voted their "concurrence" accord-

Church made what dispatch he could, and raised about 250 Men Volunteers, and receiving his Commission from Governour *Hinkley*,¹⁶ which is as followeth, *viz.*

‘ *The Council of War of their Majesties Colony of*
‘ *New-Plymouth in New-England. To Major*
‘ *Benjamin Church, Commander in Chief.*

‘ **W**HEREAS the *Kennebeck & Eastern Indians* with their
‘ Confederates, have openly made War upon their
‘ Majesties Subjects of the Provinces of *Maine, New-Hamp-*

ing to their “weak capacity,” in the measures proposed by Massachusetts to subdue the Eastern savages. They instructed their Commissioners (1) to be satisfied as to the grounds of the War; (2) to take care not to be overcharged for its carrying on; (3) to endeavor not to be involved in charges formerly contracted; (4) to secure due allowance to volunteers, and due bounty to the wounded; (5) to arrange for disbursements to be repaid in time convenient; (6) to stipulate that what shall be due to Plymouth soldiers shall be paid here, to prevent charge of transportation and other loss; (7) that it be endeavored to engage the Mohawks as allies. It was also ordered “that the military officers of each town forthwith use their endeavour to encourage English & Indians to a voluntary going out in this present expedition under command of Capt. Church,” &c.; and that if a competent number should not volunteer “then such a number shall be pressed as shall be by the Council of war agreed upon

in the severall towns where volunteers enough do not appear.”

It was further ordered, and I insert the order as curiously intimating the proportionate strength of the towns of Plymouth Colony at this date, that “the proportion for men and armes for each towne for this present expedition shall be as followeth: each man to be provided with a well fixt gun, sword, or hatchet, a horne or cartouch box, suitable am’untion and a snaphack.” *viz.* —

Men. Armes.		Men. Armes.	
Plymouth,	4 3	Rochester,	1 1
Scituate,	6 5	Monamoy,	1 1
Marthfield,	3 3	Succoneffett,	1 1
Duxborough,	2 2	Brittoll,	3 2
Bridgewater,	3 2	Taunton,	4 4
Middleborough,	1 1	Rehoboth,	4 3
Barnstable,	4 3	Dartmouth,	3 2
Eastham,	4 3	Swansey,	3 2
Sandwich,	3 3	Freetown,	1 1
Yarmouth,	3 3	Little Compton,	2 2

[*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 212–216.]

¹⁶ *Thomas Hinkley* was born in 1618, in Tenterden, Kent, being son of Samuel, who came to this country in the *Hercules*,

‘ *shire*, and of the *Massachusetts* Colony, having committed
 ‘ many barbarous Murders, Spoils & Rapines upon their
 ‘ Persons & Estates. And whereas there are some
 ‘ Forces of Souldiers *English* and *Indians*¹⁷ now raised
 ‘ & detached out of the severall Regiments & Places within
 ‘ this Colony of *New-Plymouth*, to go forth to the assistance
 ‘ of our Neighbours & Friends of the aforesaid Provinces
 ‘ and Colony of the *Massachusetts*, Subjects of one and the
 ‘ same Crown; and to joyn with their Forces for the re-
 ‘ pelling and destruction of the common Enemy. And
 ‘ whereas you *Benjamin Church* are appointed to be Ma-
 ‘ jor & Commander in Chief of all the Forces *English* and
 ‘ *Indians* detached within this Colony, for the Service of
 ‘ their Majesties as aforesaid. **These** are in their Majesties
 ‘ Name to Authorize & Require you to take into your care
 ‘ & conduct all the said Forces *English* and *Indians*, and
 ‘ diligently to intend that Service, by leading and exercis-
 ‘ ing of your Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, commanding
 ‘ them to obey you as their Chief Commander; and to
 ‘ pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said Enemies, their

in 1635. He was Deputy from Barnstable as early as 1645, and Assistant in 1658; Deputy Governor in 1680; and Governor in 1681, holding the office, except when it was usurped by Andros, until the absorption of the Colony, when he was made Councillor of Mass. He died at Barnstable, 25 April, 1705, *æt.* 87. He married (1) Mary Richards; (2) Mary Glover, daughter of Lawrence Smith, and widow of Nathaniel Glover. One of his daughters married

Experience Mayhew, and another Samuel Prince. [Otis's *Hist. Barnstable*, i: 308-313.]

¹⁷ Mr. Drake [*Book of the Indians*, 270] states, on the authority of a MS. letter of Capt. Bassett of this Expedition, that there was an Indian Company commanded by Capt. Amos, and another by Capt. Daniel; while Church seems to imply that the *Saconet* Indians who were with him were under Capt. Numpas.

‘ Aiders and Abettors, by all the wayes and means you
 ‘ can, as you shall have opportunity. And you to observe
 ‘ & obey all such Orders and Instructions as from time to
 ‘ time you shall receive from the Commissioners of the
 ‘ Colonies, the Council of War of this Colony, or the Go-
 ‘ vernour and Council of the *Massachusetts* Colony. In
 ‘ Testimony whereof the Publick Seal of the said Colony
 ‘ of *New-Plymouth* is here-unto affixed. Dated in *Ply-*
 ‘ *mouthe* the Sixth day of *September, Anno Dom. 1689.*
 ‘ *Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae*
 ‘ *Angliae, &c. Primo.*

Thomas Hinkley, *President.* [57]

And now Marching them all down to *Boston*, then received his further Orders and Instructions: which are as followeth,

Boston, Septem. 16th. 1689.

*To all Sheriffs, Marshalls, Constables, and other Officers
 Military and Civil, in their Majesties Province
 of Maine.*

‘ **W**HEREAS pursuant to an agreement of the Commis-
 ‘ sioners of the United Colonies, Major *Benjamin*
 ‘ *Church* is Commissionated Commander in Chief over
 ‘ that part of their Majesties Forces (levyed for the pres-
 ‘ ent Expedition against the Common Enemy) whose
 ‘ head quarters are appointed to be at *Falmouth* in *Casco*
 ‘ *Bay.* In their Majesties Names, You, and every of you

‘ are required to be aiding and assisting to the said Maj.
 ‘ *Church*, in his pursuit of the Enemy, as any Emergency
 ‘ shall require; and to Impress Boats, or other Vessels, Carts,
 ‘ Carriages, Horses, Oxen, Provision and Ammunition, and
 ‘ Men for guides &c. as you shall receive Warrants from the
 ‘ said Chief Commander, or his Lieutenant so to do: You
 ‘ may not fail to do the same speedily and effectually, as
 ‘ you will answer your neglect and contempt of their
 ‘ Majesties Authority and Service at your uttermost Peril.
 ‘ Given under my Hand and Seal the Day and Year above
 ‘ Written. *Annoque Regi Regis et Reginae Willielmi &*
 ‘ *Mariae Primo.*

*By Thomas Danforth,¹⁸ President of the
 Province of Maine.*

*By the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony.
 To Major Benjamin Church.*

‘ **W**Hereas you are appointed and commissioned by the
 ‘ Council of War of the Colony of *New-Plymouth*,
 ‘ Commander in Chief of the Forces raised within the said
 ‘ Colony, against the Common *Indian* Enemy, now ordered
 ‘ into the Eastern Parts, to joyn with some of the Forces
 ‘ of this Colony; for the prosecution, repelling and subdu-

¹⁸ *Thomas Danforth*, of Cambridge, was eldest son of Nicolas; was born in England; was freeman 10 May, 1643; Deputy 1657-8; Assistant 1659-78; Deputy Governor 1679-86, and again after

Andros; in 1680 was appointed President for Maine, and, in 1692, Judge of the Supreme Court; died 5 Nov., 1699. He married Mary Withington, of Dorchester. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 8.]

‘ing of the said Enemy. It is therefore Ordered that
 ‘Captain *Simon Willard*,¹⁹ and Capt. *Nathanael Hall*,²⁰
 ‘with the two Companies of Souldiers under their severall
 ‘Command belonging to this Colony, now in or about
 ‘*Casco Bay*, be and are hereby put under you, as their
 ‘Commander in Chief for this present Expedition. And
 ‘in pursuance of the Commiissions severally given to either
 ‘of them, they are Ordered to Observe and Obey your
 ‘orders and directions, as their Commander in Chief until
 ‘further Order from the Governour & Council; Or the
 ‘Commiissioners of the Colonies. Dated in *Boston* the
 ‘17th day of *September*, Anno Dom. 1689. Annoque

¹⁹ *Simon Willard* was third son of Maj. Simon; born 23 Nov., 1649; free-man 1680; Captain in this war; was Deacon; died 21 June, 1731. He married (1) about 1679, Martha, daughter of Richard Jacob, of Ipswich; (2) 30 April, 1702, Elizabeth, widow of John Walley, and daughter of the second John Alden; (3) July, 1722, Priscilla Buttolph. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 555.]

²⁰ I cannot identify this Captain, except by the supposition that he was the same "Capt. Nathaniel Hall" who joined the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company in 1692, and who is barely mentioned by name, by Whittman. [*Hist. Anc. & Hon. Art.* 228.] It seems to me that Mr. Savage is mistaken in saying that he was that son of the first John of Yarmouth, who married Anne Thornton, practised as a physician, kept tavern, &c., &c. It is hardly probable that there were two cotempo-

rary Nathaniel Halls of Yarmouth, both of whom fought the Indians. But that Nathaniel Hall who received grants from the Plymouth Colony in July, 1681, and July, 1683, and who was licensed to keep an ordinary, in addition to a grant of £5 per annum, 5 June, 1684, to which £30 more, with the promise of £6 per annum, were added in June, 1685,—all on account of his "contentewed lameness" as "a decrepid souldier, whose became soe by a wound received in the late Indian warr," was of Yarmouth. And as he was thus an untitled pensioner up to 1685, it seems unlikely that he could have been the Capt. Nathaniel who marched under Church in 1689. Mr. Otis, however, thinks he was the same. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 336; *Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 65, 112, 130, 132, 169; Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod*, ii: 203. Otis's *Hist. Barnstable*, i: 241.]

‘ *Regni Regis et Reginae Guilielmi et Mariae Angliae, &c.*
 ‘ *Primo.*

Pass in Council, S. Bradstreet, GOV.
*Attcl Isaac Addington, Secr.*²¹ [58]

*By the Commissioners of the Colonies of the Massachusetts,
 Plymouth and Connecticut, for managing the present
 War against the Common Enemy.*

‘ **I**nstructions for Major Benjamin Church Commander
 ‘ in Chief of the *Plymouth* Forces, with others of the
 ‘ *Massachusetts* put under his Command.

‘ **I**N Pursuance of the Commission given you for their
 ‘ Majesty’s Service in the present Expedition against the
 ‘ Common *Indian* Enemy, their Aidors and Abettors; re-
 ‘ posing confidence in your Wisdom, Prudence and Fi-
 ‘ delity in the trust committed to you, for the honour of
 ‘ God, good of His People, and the security of the Interest
 ‘ of Christ in His Churches, expecting and praying that in
 ‘ your dependance upon Him, you may be helped &
 ‘ assisted with all that Grace and Wisdom which is requi-
 ‘ site for carrying you on with Success in this difficult Ser-
 ‘ vice; and tho’ much is and must be left to your discretion
 ‘ as Providence and opportunity may present from time to
 ‘ time in places of attendance: Yet the following Instruc-
 ‘ tions are commended unto your observation, and to be

²¹ *Isaac Addington*, only son of Isaac, of Boston, born 22 Jan., 1645; was bred for a surgeon, but was chosen Deputy 1685, and next year Assistant. Under the new Charter, he was one of the

Council, and Secretary, in which office he continued many years. He was afterward Judge. He died 19 Mar., 1715, *æt.* 70. [Allen’s *Biog. Dict.* 14.]

‘ attended so far as the State of matters with you in such a
 ‘ transaction will admit. You are with all possible speed
 ‘ to take care that the *Plymouth* Forces both *English* and
 ‘ *Indians* under your Command be fixed and ready, and
 ‘ the first opportunity of Wind & Weather, to go on
 ‘ board such Vessels as are provided to transport you and
 ‘ them to *Casco*, where if it shall please God you arrive,
 ‘ you are to take under your care & command the Com-
 ‘ panies of Capt. *Nathanael Hall*, and Capt. *Simon Wil-*
 ‘ *lard*, who are ordered to attend your Command, whom
 ‘ together with the *Plymouth* Forces, and such as from time
 ‘ to time may be added unto you; you are to improve in
 ‘ such way as you shall see meet, for the discovering,
 ‘ pursuing, subduing and destroying the said Common En-
 ‘ emy, by all opportunities you are capable of; always
 ‘ intending the preserving any of the near Towns from
 ‘ incursions, and destruction of the Enemy, yet chiefly
 ‘ improving your men for the finding and following the
 ‘ said Enemy abroad, and if possible to find out & attach
 ‘ their head quarters and principal Rendezvous, if you find
 ‘ you are in a rational capacity of so doing; the better to
 ‘ enable you thereto, We have ordered two men of War
 ‘ Sloops, and other small Vessels for transportation, to attend
 ‘ you, for some considerable time. You are to see that
 ‘ your Souldiers Arms be always fixt, and that they be
 ‘ furnished with Ammunition, Provisions and other neces-
 ‘ saries, that so they may be in a readiness to repel and
 ‘ attach the Enemy. In your pursuit you are to take

‘ special care to avoid danger by Ambushments, or being
 ‘ drawn under any disadvantage by the Enemy in your
 ‘ Marches, Keeping out Scouts and a forlorn before your
 ‘ main Body, and by all possible means endeavouring to
 ‘ Surprise some of the Enemy, that so you may gain intelli-
 ‘ gence. You are to Suppress all Mutinies and Disorders
 ‘ among your Souldiers, as much as in you lies, and to
 ‘ punish such as disobey your Officers, according to the
 ‘ rules of War herewith given you. [59]

‘ You are according to your opportunity, or any occa-
 ‘ sion more than ordinary occurring to hold correspondence
 ‘ with Major *Swaine*,²² and to yield Mutual assistance when
 ‘ and as you are capable of it, and you may have reason to
 ‘ judge it will be of most Publick Service; and it will be
 ‘ meet you and he should agree of some Signal whereby
 ‘ your *Indians* may be known from the Enemy. You are
 ‘ to encourage your Souldiers to be industrious, vigorous,
 ‘ and venturous in their Service, to search out and destroy
 ‘ the Enemy, acquainting them, It is agreed by the several
 ‘ Colonies, That they shall have the benefit of the Captives,
 ‘ and all lawful Plunder, and the Reward of *Eight Pounds*
 ‘ *per* head, for every fighting *Indian* man slain by them,
 ‘ over and above their Stated wages; the same being made
 ‘ appear to the Commander in Chief, or such as shall be
 ‘ appointed to take care therein. If your Commission Offi-

²² This appears to have been Jeremiah Swain, of Reading, who was Deputy 1686 and 1689, and Assistant the latter year. He was Captain for many years

previous to this war, and was at the head of a regiment in 1691. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 235; *Mass. Col. Rec.* v: 476, 514.]

‘cers or any of them should be slain, or otherwile uncappable of Service, and for such reason dismist, you are to appoint others in their room, who shall have the like wages, and a Commission sent upon notice given, you to give them Commissions in the mean time. You are to take effectual care that the Worship of God be kept up in the Army, Morning and Evening Prayer attended as far as may be, and as the Emergencies of your affairs will admit, to see that the holy Sabbath be duely Sanctified. You are to take care as much as may be to prevent or punish Drunkenness, Swearing, Cursing, or such other Sins, as do provoke the anger of God. You are to advise with your Chief Officers in any matters of Moment, as you shall have opportunity. You are from time to time to give intelligence and advice to the Governour & Council of the *Massachusetts*, or Commissioners of the Colonies of your proceedings and occurrence that may happen, and how it shall please the Lord to deal with you in this present Expedition.

‘If you find the Vessels are not likely to be Serviceable to you, dismist them as soon as you may.

‘Capt. *Silvanus Davis*²³ is a prudent Man, and well

²³ *Silvanus Davis* was at Sheepscot 1659; swore allegiance to the King 1665; was wounded by the Indians at Arrowick when Captain Lake was killed; removed to Falmouth (Portland) 1680; became a large land-owner there, and had the most extensive warehouse in the Eastern country at that

time, being licensed, in 1687, “to retail liquors out of doors in the town of Falmouth”; became unpopular in the days of Andros; commanded the fort; was captured by the French and Indians in May, 1690; was exchanged for a Frenchman 15 Oct., 1690; was put into the Council by the Charter of William and

‘ acquainted with the affairs of those parts, and is writt
 ‘ unto to advise and inform you all he can.

‘ Such further Instructions as we shall see reason to send
 ‘ unto you, you are carefully to attend and observe, and in
 ‘ the absence of the Commissioners, you shall observe the
 ‘ orders and instructions directed unto you from the Gov-
 ‘ ernour and Council of the *Massachusetts*.

Given under our hands in Boston, Sept. 18. 1689.

Tho. Hinkley

Thomas Danforth, President.

*John Walley*²⁴

*Elisba Cooke*²⁵

*Samuel Mafon*²⁶

William Pitkin.²⁷

Mary 1691; lived in his latter days at Hull, Mafs.; died 1704, leaving a wife, but no children. He wrote an account of his capture, &c., &c., which is on file in the Mafs. State Paper Office, and was printed in 3 *Mafs. Hist. Coll.* i: 101-112. [Willis's *Hist. Port.* 21, 131, 208, 226, 231, 234, 258, 263, 284, 293; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 21.]

²⁴ *John Walley* was son of Rev. Thomas, of Barnstable; was born in 1643; was admitted to the Ancient and Honorable Artillery 1671; freeman 1673; Captain 1679; was interested in the settlement of Bristol; was one of

Andros's Council 1686; was chief military officer of the expedition to Quebec 1690; was Judge of the Superior Court 1700-11; died in Boston 11 Jan., 1712, *æt.* 68. He published a Journal of the Quebec Expedition, which is contained in the appendix to the first volume of Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. He had a singular controversy with John Salsin, & in which Judge Byfield became also involved. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 400; *Hist. Anc. & Hon. Art.* 185; Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod*, i: 323; Wallburn's *Judic. Hist. Mafs.* 270.]

²⁵ *Elisba Cooke*, son of Richard, of Boston, was a physician; freeman 1673;

Deputy 1681-3; Assistant 1684-6; of the Council of Safety 1689; was agent

²⁶ *Samuel Mafon* was eldest son of Maj. John; born at Windfor, Conn.,

July, 1664; Lieut. 1670; freeman 1673; on the court-martial for New London

²⁷ *William Pitkin* was of Hartford, Conn., son of Roger; freeman 1662;

Deputy 1675; Treasurer 1676; was Assistant many years; Commissioner for

[60] The First Expedition, *East*.

BEING ready,²⁸ Major *Church* imbarc'd with his Forces on board the Vessels provided to transport them for *Casco*,²⁹ having a brave Gale at S. W and on Fryday about 3 a clock they got in sight of *Casco* Harbour; and discourging two or three small Ships there, not knowing before whether they were friends or enemies; whereupon the said Commander Maj *Church* gave orders that every man that was able should make ready, and all ly close, giving orders how they should act in case they were Enemies: He going in the *Mary* Sloop, together with the *Resolution* went in first, being both well fitted with Guns & Men; coming to the first, hail'd them, who said they were friends;

for Mafs. in England, with Oakes and Mather, 1690-1; Judge of Probate 1701; died 31 Oct., 1715. He married Eliza-

beth, daughter of Gov. Leverett. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 445; Bradford's *New Eng. Biog.* 111.]

Co., 1676; Deputy from Stonington, 1678-82; Assistant 1683-89; Captain 1685; afterward Major and Commissioner for Conn.; died 30 Mar., 1705.

He married (1) —?; (2) Eliz. Peck. [Col. Rec. Conn. ii: 132, 201, 484; iii: 3, 17, 36, 66, 75, 106, 114, 170, &c.; N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg. xv: 117, 118.]

the United Colonies 1678; and to treat with Gov. Dungan 1683; Commissioner again later; died 15 Dec. 1694, æt. 58.

He married Hannah, only daughter of Ozias Goodwin. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iii: 441; Col. Rec. Conn. iii: 2, 17, &c.]

²⁸ "Major Church arrived at Falmouth in the latter part of September." [Williamson's *Hist. Maine*, i: 616.]

²⁹ "The old Indian name *Casco* continued to be used all the first century after the settlement (for what is now

Portland, Me.,) notwithstanding the town had received from Massachusetts the corporate name Falmouth, as early as 1658." The familiar aboriginal titles had then much vitality. [Willis's *Hist. Portland*, 49.]

presently Man'd their Boat, brought too, and so came along the side of them; who gave the said *Church* an account, That yesterday there was a very great Army of *Indians*, & *French* with them upon the Island,³⁰ at the going out of the Harbour, and that they were come on purpose to take *Casco* Fort³¹ and Town, likewise inform'd him that they had got a Captive Woman aboard (Maj. *Waldens* daughter of *Piscataqua*³²) that could give him a full account of

³⁰ Joseph Prout wrote from Falmouth 17 Sept., 1689. that 200 Indians were then on "Palmer's Island." [Willis's *Hist. Port.* 277.] Palmer's was what is now Peak's Island, perhaps 500 rods E. of the mouth of Casco River.

³¹ *Fort Loyall* had been erected on Cleaves's Neck, on the point, at the foot of what was afterward King Street (now India Street), in 1680, and garrisoned by 13 men, part of whom were supported by Massachusetts. 24 May, 1682, an agreement was made with Lieut. Anthony Brackett to keep the fort for one year, by 6 men in the summer and 4 men in the winter, "by continual watch and ward to keep it as a fort ought to be kept." The next year, Walter Gendall was authorized to take charge of the fort if Brackett declined. [Willis's *Hist. Port.* 226, 249, 254.]

³² *Richard Waldron* (more properly *Walderne*) was born in Alcester, Warwickshire, Eng., where he was baptized 6 Jan., 1615; came to America in 1635, with Mr. Hilton or Mr. Wiggin, to see the country; staid about two years, and returned to England and married a gentlewoman of good family; came

back, and settled at Cocheco Lower Falls. He was, at different periods, Selectman, Deputy, Assistant, Major, Chief-Justice of New Hampshire, and acting President. He was killed by the Indians (see note 12) 28 June, 1689. He married (1) the English lady above referred to; (2) Anne Scammon, sister of Richard, she died 7 Feb., 1685. By these wives he had (1) Paul, d. 1669; (2) Timothy; (3) Richard, b. 1650; (4) Anna; (5) Elnathan, b. 6 July, 1659, d. 10 Dec., 1659; (6) Esther, b. 1 Dec., 1660; (7) Mary, b. 14 Sept. 1663, d. young; (8) Eleazer, b. 1 May, 1665; (9) Elizabeth, b. 18 Oct., 1666; (10) Marah, b. 17 July, 1668. Esther married (1) Henry, son of Henry Elkins, of Hampton; (2) Abram Lee, "Chymist," who was killed with Major W. by the Indians; (3) Richard, son of Richard Jose, of Portsmouth; (4) — — —; and died in the Island of Jersey. She, of course, was the person here referred to by Church, having been captured by the Indians at the time of the murder of her father and husband, three months before, and rescued by a Dutch privateer. [*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* ix: 55;

their number & intentions: He bid 'em give his Service to their Captain, and tell him, He would wait upon him after he had been on shore and gave some orders and directions: being come pretty near he ordered all the Men still to keep close, giving an account of the News he had received, and then went a-shore, where were several of the chief Men of the Town who met him, being glad that he came so happily to their relief; told him the News Mrs. *Lee* had given them, being the Woman aforesaid. He going to Capt. *Davis's*³³ to get some refreshment, having not eat a Morfel since he came by *Boston* Castle; and now having inquired into the State of the Town, found them in a poor condition for to defend themselves against such a number of Enemies: He gave them an account of his Orders and Instructions, and told them what Forces he had brought, and that when it was dark they should all Land, and not before, lest the Enemy should discover them. And then he went on board the Privateer, who were *Dutch* Men; but as he went call'd aboard every Vessel and ordered the Officers to take care that their Men might be all fitted and provided to fight, for the People of the Town expected the Enemy to fall upon them every Minute, but withal charging them to keep undiscovered: and coming on board the said Privateer, was kindly treated; discours'd Mrs. *Lee*, who inform'd him

Belknap's *Hist. New Hamp.* i: 199; Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 616.]

³³ Capt. Davis's [see note 23, *ante*] house, to which Church now repaired for refreshment, stood on the "great

bay" a little E. of the foot of the present India Street; his lot there having a front on the tidewater of 147 ft., and a depth of 630 ft., to the burying-ground.

that the company she came with had fourscore Canoo's: & that there was more of them, whom she had not seen, which came from other Places, and that they told her when they came all together, should make up 700 Men. He ask'd her, Whether *Casleen*³⁴ was with them? She answered, That there was several *French* Men with them, but she did not know whether [61] *Casleen* was there or not. He then having got what intelligence she could give him, went ashore and viewed the Fort and Town, discoursing with the Gentlemen there according to his Instructions; and when it began to grow dark, he ordered the Vessels to come as near the Fort as might be, and Land the Soldiers, with as little noise as possible; ordering them as they Landed to go into the Fort and Houses that stood near, that so they might be ready upon occasion; having ordered Provisions for them, went to every Company and ordering

³⁴ Baron *Vincent de St. Castin* was born near the Pyrenees, and became a man of wealth and eminence, and an officer in the body-guard of the King of France. He arrived at Quebec about 1665; and, the regiment which he commanded having been disbanded, he selected the pine-clad peninsula of Biguatus, in Acadie, as his residence, where he erected a fortified habitation, and for over a quarter of a century carried on an extensive and profitable trade, shipping merchandise from France, and exchanging it with the Indians for furs. La Hontan estimated his profits at 200,000 to 300,000 crowns. He himself testified that 80,000 livres

could be annually realized at Penobscot from the beaver trade. He married the daughter of *Madockawando*, chief of the Tarratines; and, being a zealous Catholic, gave the English great trouble from his instigation of, and aid to, the enemy in Indian wars. The English, on the other hand, at different times, used him very hardly. He went to France in 1701, and probably never returned. His son, by his Indian wife, continued to reside at Penobscot, and to be influential among the savages. The present town of Castine marks the spot. [*La Hontan*, i: 471; *Tibierge's Mem. Acadie*, 1 Oct., 1695; *Me. Hist. Coll.* vi: 110-113.]

them to get every thing ready; they that had no Powder-horns nor Shot-bags, should immediately make them; ordering the Officers to take special care that they were ready to March into the Woods an hour before day: and also directing the Watch to call him two hours before day; so he hastned to bed to get some Rest. At the time prefix'd he was call'd,³⁵ and presently ordering the Company's to make ready, and about half an hour before day they mov'd; several of the Town People went with them into a thick place of brush, about half a Mile from the Town;³⁶ now ordering them to send out their Scouts, as they us'd to do, and seeing them all settled at their work, he went into Town by Sun rise again, and desired the Inhabitants to take care of themselves, till his men had fitted themselves with some necessaries: for his *Indians* most of them wanted both bags and horns; so he ordered them to make bags like Wallets to put Powder in one end and shot in the other: So most of them were ready for action (*viz.*) the *Saconet Indians*,³⁷ but the *Cape Indians*³⁸ were

³⁵ This was the morning of Saturday, 21 Sept., 1689.

³⁶ "A portion of the central part [of the "neck" whereon the city of Portland now stands] was swamy and covered with bushes and trees, and furrowed with gullies." [Willis's *Journals of Smith & Deane*, 430.]

³⁷ See Part I. xxii. Probably all the *Saconet* Indians who served in this expedition were under the command of Capt. *Numpas*.

³⁸ The Indians on Cape Cod had been friendly — with individual exceptions — through Philip's war, and they now furnished soldiers freely to aid the English. As late as the Revolutionary war a single Continental regiment had 26 *Mashpee* Indians; and it was stated, in 1783, by Rev. Mr. Hawley, that most of the *Mashpee* women lost their husbands in the service, at one time there being 70 widows there. [Freeman's *Hist. Cape Cod*, i: 692.]

very bare, lying so long at *Boston* before they embark'd, that they had Sold every thing they could make a Penny of; some tying Shot & Powder in the corners of their Blankets. He being in Town, just going to Breakfast, there was an Alarm, so he ordered all the Souldiers in the Town to Move away as fast as they could, where the firing was; and he with what Men more were with him of his Souldiers, Mov'd immediately, and meeting with Capt. *Brackits*³⁹ Sons, who told him their Father was taken, and that they saw a great Army of *Indians* in their Fathers Orchard,⁴⁰ &c. By this time our *Indians* that wanted bags and horns were fitted, but wanted more Ammunition: presently came a Messenger to him from the Town & inform'd him, That they had knock'd out the heads of fev-

³⁹ *Anthony Brackett*, perhaps son of *Anthony*, who was at Portsmouth, 1640, was at Falmouth as witness to a delivery of possession 1662: married (1) *Ann*, eldest daughter of *Michael Mitton*, and settled on the 100 acres granted her at Back Cove by *George Cleeves*. He subsequently enlarged his farm to 400 acres. He was constable 1664; juror 1666; commissioner 1668; was taken captive, with his wife, five children, and a negro servant, by the *Indians* 11 Aug., 1676, but escaped by the bold use of an old, dilapidated birch canoe: his wife *Ann* died soon after, and, 30 Sept., 1679, he married (2) *Sufanna*, eldest daughter of *Abraham Drake*, sen., of Hampton; was Lieut. 1682; Capt. 1689; was shot by the *Indians* in this engagement at his house on Back

Cove. He had by the first wife (1) *Anthony*, (2) *Seth*, (3) *Mary*, (4) *Kezia*, (5) *Elinor*; by the second, (6) *Jane*, (7) *Zipporah*, (8) *Zachariah*, (9) *Ann*, (10) *Sufanna*. [*Willis's Hist. Port.* 101, 106, 111, 138, 141, 156, 159, 169, 172, 176, 181, 187, 202, 208, 214, 219, 225, 251, 268, 280, 290; *Drake's Hubbard*, ii: 139.]

⁴⁰ *Brackett's* farm lay on the W. shore of Back Cove, above the creek, on the ground now occupied by the mansion of *James Deering*, and the orchard extended toward the point. [*Willis's Hist. Port.* 278.] The *Indians* had gone round, under cover of the darkness of the night, with their canoes from *Peak's Island* up *Casco River* or *Back Cove*; from either of which *Brackett's* farm was accessible.

eral Casks of Bullets and they were all too big, being Musket Bullets, and would not fit their Guns, and that if he did not go back himself a great part of the Army would be kept back from Service for want of fuitable Bullets: He run back and ordered every Vessel to send a-shore all their Casks of Bullets; being brought, knock'd out their heads, and turn'd them all out upon the green by the Fort, and fet all the People in the Town that were able to make flugs; being most of them too large for their use, which had like to have been the over-throw of their whole Army: He finding some small Bullets and what flugs were made, and three Snapfacks of Powder, went immediately to the Army, who were very hotly in[62]gag'd; but coming to the River,⁴¹ the Tide was up; he call'd to his men that were ingag'd, encouraging them, and told them he had brought more Ammunition for them. An *Indian* call'd Capt. *Lightfoot*,⁴² laid down his Gun, and came over the River, taking the Powder upon his head and a Kittle of Bullets in each hand, and got safe to his Fellow Souldiers: He⁴³ perceiving great firing upon that side he was of, went to see who they were, and found them to be two of Maj. *Church's* Companies, one of *English* & the other of *Indians*, being in all about Fourscore Men, that had not got over the River, but lay firing over our Mens heads at the Enemy; he presently ordered them to Rally and come all

⁴¹ This river was the prolongation into the neck, of the S. W. extremity of "Back Cove."

⁴² See Part I. note 238.

⁴³ "He" — that is Church, not Lightfoot.

together; and gave the word for a *Casco* Man: So one *Swarton*⁴⁴ a *Jersey* man⁴⁵ appearing, who he could hardly understand; he ask'd him, How far it was to the head of the River? or whether there was any place they could get over? He said, there was a Bridge⁴⁶ about three quarters of a Mile up where they might get over: So he calling to his Souldiers ingag'd on the other side, that he would soon be with them over the Bridge, and come upon the backs of the Enemy; which put new courage into them; so they immediately Mov'd up towards the Bridge, Marching very thin, being willing to make what show they could, shouting as they March'd: they saw the Enemy running from the River-side, where they had made Stands with Wood to prevent any body from coming over the River; and coming to the Bridge, they saw on the other side that the Enemy had laid logs and stuck birch brush along to hide themselves from our view. He ordered the

⁴⁴ Mather [*Magnalia*, Book VI. pp. 10-14] gives a narrative of the captivity of *Hannah Swarton*, who was taken by the Indians when *Casco* Fort was taken, in 1690, with four children; her husband being then slain. In November, 1695, she reached Boston, leaving two of her children behind her in Canada. She says she lived in Beverly, Mass., before going to *Casco*; while Savage [*Gen. Dict.* iv: 237] gives the name of John Swarton as of Beverly, in 1672. In a list of English captives ransomed from Quebec by Matthew Carey, in October, 1695, occurs the name of "Josh. Swarton, boy, *Cascow*,"

and "*Johana Swarton, York*"; while "*Mary Swarton, girl, Dover*," is named as remaining still in captivity. [*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* vi: 87.]

It may, perhaps, be reasonable to suppose that John Swarton was husband of Hannah, father of these children, and the informant of Church on this occasion.

⁴⁵ That is, an emigrant from the Isle of Jersey, — in English possession, but in French neighborhood. Its native inhabitants speak mostly a French *patois*.

⁴⁶ "In the same place, probably, where one now stands, on Grove Street." [*Willis's Hist. Port.* 278.]

Company to come all together, ordering them all to run after him, who would go first, and that as soon as they got over the Bridge to scatter, that so they might not be all shot down together, expecting the Enemy to be at their Stands; so running up to the Stands, found none there, but were just gone, the ground being much tumbled with them behind the said Stands: He order'd the Captain with his Company of *English* to March down to our Men engaged, and that they should keep along upon the edge of the Marsh, and himself with his *Indian* Souldiers would March down thro' the brush:⁴⁷ and coming to a parcel of low ground which had been formerly burnt, the old brush being fallen down lay very thick, and young brush being grown up made it bad travelling; but coming near the back of the Enemy, one of his Men call'd unto him their Commander, and said, That the Enemy run *Westward*⁴⁸ to get between us and the Bridge, and he looking that way saw men running, and making a small stop, heard no firing, but a great chopping with Hatchets; so concluding the fight was over, made the best of their way to the Bridge again, lest the Enemy should go over the Bridge into the Town. The men being most of them out (our Ammunition lay expos'd) coming to the Bridge where he had left Six *Indians* for an Ambuscade on the other side of the River, that if any Enemy offer'd to come over they

⁴⁷ Church's plan seems to have been to send his English soldiers along the curve of the edge of the marsh toward the battle-ground, while, with his In-

dians, he moved "across lots" due north, so as, if possible, to strike the enemy in the rear.

⁴⁸ By running westward, the enemy

should fire at them, which would give him Notice, [63] so would come to their assistance; (but in the way having heard no firing nor shouting, concluded the Enemy were drawn off) he asked the Amboscade, whether they saw any *Indians*? They said, Yes, abundance. He ask'd them, Where? They answered, That they ran over the head of the River by the Cedar Swamp,⁴⁹ and were running into the Neck towards the Town: There being but one *English* man with him, he bid his *Indian* Souldiers scatter, run very thin to preserve themselves, and the better able to make a discovery of the Enemy: & soon coming to Lieut. *Clarks*⁵⁰ field on the South-side of the Neck, and seeing the Cattel feeding quietly, and perceiving no Track, concluded the Amboscade had told them a false-

would be able to pass round Church's left flank, and get to the bridge, and into the town, in spite of, and before him.

⁴⁹ Church's Indians evidently supposed that the hostile party were running far enough west to flank the short river, and go around its swampy source into the neck and toward the town, instead of attempting to cross the defended bridge.

⁵⁰ *Thaddens Clark* is said by Rev. Timothy Alden (who gives no authority) to have been born in Ireland [Alden's *American Epitaphs*, ii: 98.]; was at Falmouth, 1663, with his wife Elizabeth, then 18 years old, second daughter of Michael Mitton; lived on the bank of the Casco, just above the point which still bears his name; was

Lieut. of a company of town soldiers; and, in an imprudent exposure of himself and his men, was killed, with thirteen of his company, by the Indians, when they attacked Falmouth in 1690, and buried 4 July. His widow died in Boston, in 1736, *æt.* 91. His eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Capt. Edward Tyng; another married a Harvey, and was a widow in Boston 1719. His son Isaac settled in Framingham, Mass.; married Sarah Stow, of Marlborough; had seven children; commanded a company of troopers; and died 26 May, 1768, *æt.* 102, having lived 70 years with the wife of his youth. [Willis's *Hist. Port.* 139, 141, 232, 283, 292; Barry's *Hist. Fram.* 208; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 400. *Me. Hist. Coll.* i: 203-214.]

hood; they haftily return'd back to the faid Bridge, perceiving there was no noife of the Enemy. He hearing feveral great Guns fire at the Town, concluded that they were either affaulted, or that they had difcover'd the Enemy: He having ordered that in cafe fuch fhould be, that they fhould fire fome of their great Guns to give him notice; he being a Stranger to the Country, concluded the Enemy had by fome other way got to the Town: whereupon he fent his Men to the Town, and himfelf going to the River, near where the fight had been; ask'd them⁵¹ how they did? and what was become of the Enemy? who inform'd him that the Enemy drew off in lefs than an hour after he left them, and had not fired a Gun at them fince. He told them he had been within little more than a Gun fhot of the back of the Enemy, and had been upon them had it not been for the thick brushy ground, &c. Now fome of his Men returning from the Town gave him the account, that they went while⁵² they faw the Colours ftanding & Men walking about as not molefted. He prefently ordered that all his Army fhould purfue the Enemy: But they told him that moft of them had fpent their Ammunition, and that if the Enemy had engaged them a little longer they might have come & knock'd them on the head; and that fome of their Bullets were fo unfizeable that fome of them were forc'd to make flugs

⁵¹ That is, having fent the Indians who had been with him to the town, he went back and hailed his Englifh

troops, whom he had left near the original battle-field.

⁵² "While — until." [*Bailey.*]

while they were ingag'd. He then order'd them to get over all the wounded and dead men, and to leave none behind: which was done by some Canoo's they had got. Capt. *Hall* and his men being first ingaged did great Service, and suffered the greatest loss in his Men. But Capt. *Southworth* ⁵³ with his Company, & Capt. *Numpoff* ⁵⁴ with the *Seconit Indians*, and the most of the men belonging to the Town all coming suddenly to his relief, prevented him and his whole Company from being cut off, &c. By this time the day was far spent, and Marching into Town about Sun-set, carrying in all their wounded and dead men; ⁵⁵ being all sensible of Gods goodness to them, in

⁵³ *William Southworth*, (probably youngest) son of Constant, was born 1659; settled in Little Compton; was selectman 1683-5; was commissioned Lieut. for Little Compton, 1689; was allowed (as Lieut., though Church forgot and called him Captain then) 25s. per week for his service in this expedition; married (1) Rebecca —, and had Benjamin, Joseph, Edward, Elizabeth, Alice, Samuel, Nathaniel, Thomas, and Stephen; (2) —, and had Gideon and Andrew. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 108, 129, 168, 223, 229; *Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 143.]

⁵⁴ See Part I. note 173.

⁵⁵ Church enclosed in his letter to the home authorities, the following "liste of the men that was slain in a fite at Falmouth, and also how many was wounded in said fite," under date of 21 Sept., 1689; which is still pre-

served in the Mass. State Paper Office, as follows: —

"of Capt. Hall's soldiers, 6 slain, —

Thomas Burton,
Edward Ebens,
Thomas Thaxter,
Thomas Berry,
John Mafon,
David Homes.

of Capt. Davis's Company, 2 slain, —

Giles Row,
Andrew Alger (belonging to the fort of the town).

also, — — —, 3 slain, —

An Indian.
A negro of Col. Tyngs,
Capt. Brackett (carried away or slain).

Making 11 in all killed.

Wounded, 6 friend Indians, and of Capt Davis's Company James Freeze, Mr. Bramhall, Thomas Browne, Mr. Palmer, —inhabitants.

Total. 21 slain and wounded."

Willis adds that Freeze, Bramhall, and one friend Indian, died of their wounds. [*Hist. Port.* 280.]

In relation to the enemy's loss, Church

giving them the Victory, and causing the Enemy to fly with shame, who never gave one shout at their drawing off. The poor Inhabitants wonderfully rejoiced that the Almighty had favoured them so much: saying, That if Maj. *Church* with his Forces had not come at that juncture of time, they had been all cut off; and said further, That it was the first time that ever the *Eastward Indians* had been put to flight, and the said *Church* with his Volunteers were wonderfully preserved, having never a man kill'd outright, and but one *Indian* mortally wounded, who dy'd,⁵⁶ several more being badly wounded, but recovered.

After this engagement Maj. *Church* with his Forces ranging all the Country thereabout, in pursuit of the Enemy; and visiting all the Garrisons, at ⁵⁷*Black Point*, ⁵⁸*Spur-*

wrote, 27 Sept., saying, "We know not yet what damage we did to the enemy in our last engagement, but several things that they left behind them on their flight we found yesterday, which was guncases and stockings and other things of some value, together with other signs that make us think that we did them considerable damage." [3 *Maj's. Hist. Coll.* i: 92.]

⁵⁶ Mr. Drake [*Book of Ind.* 270.] states, on the authority of the MS. letter of Capt. Bassett, that the Indian who was killed was named *Sam Moses*. [See the letter. Drake's *Baylies's Plymouth*, p. 77.]

⁵⁷ *Black Point* lies in the town of Scarborough, on the shore E. of the mouth of the *Owaskeag* River, and be-

tween it and the *Spurwink*. Originally all the country between Saco and Spurwink was called Black Point. [*Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 17.] In 1681 a strong fort was built "upon the plains between Moor's Brook and the South-east end of the great pond," at the instance of Capt. Joshua Scottow, the garrison of which, at this time, was under command of his son Thomas. [*Ibid.* 132, 133.]

⁵⁸ *Spurwink* settlement lay between the mouth of Spurwink River and Cape Elizabeth, in the southerly angle of the town of Cape Elizabeth. The garrison seems to have been at the house of Dominicus, son of Rev. Robert Jordan. [*Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 137; Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 29.]

wink, and *Blew Point*; ⁵⁹ and went up *Kennebeck River*, ⁶⁰ but to little effect. And now Winter drawing near, he received orders from the Government of the *Massachusetts-Bay*, to settle all the Garrisons, and put in suitable Officers according to his best discretion, and to send home all his Souldiers the Volunteers and transports; which orders he presently attended. ⁶¹ Being oblig'd to buy him a Horse to

⁵⁹ *Blue Point* was in the S.-W. part of the town of Scarborough, on Saco line, not far W. of Black Point. The garrison appears to have been at Philip Foxwell's (son of Richard) house, nearly opposite to where Mill Creek flows into the *Owajkoag*.

⁶⁰ The mouth of the *Kennebec* is scarcely more than 30 miles N. E. from Falmouth. Williamson says Church ascended the river "several leagues." [*Hist. Me.* i: 617.]

⁶¹ The following document — among the valuable additions recently made to Baylies's *Memoir of Plymouth Colony*, by Mr. S. G. Drake — demands a place here, describing, as it does, Church's action not merely, but disclosing, also, the names of so many of his companions, and the proportions in which they were distributed among the various garrisons: —

"Province of Maine

"Scarborough the 11th
November, 1689.

"Att a Councill of warr held at the point Garrison Present Major Benjamin Church, Capt Sylvanus Davis, Capt. William Baffitt, Capt Simon Willard, with the rest of the Commission Officers of Saco, Falmouth and Scarborough.

"It is Ordered that one hundred their Majesties Horses now in this present Expedition against the Coman Enemie, be detached out of the severall Companies, which should number for the security of the Garrisons there Resident, and in Case any of the Enemie be discovered or Any tracks of them be made in this winter Season, untill further force be sent that may Advance to their head Quarters.

"Souldiers Quartered in the towne Ship of Saco twenty men; in their two Garrisons. In the township of Scarborough twenty men in their Garrisons viz: three Sperwink Included.

"Falmouth the 13 Nouember: Att a Councill of Warr held in perfuance of what is above written, by Major Benjamin Church, and the officers abovesaid. Added Capt Nathaniel Hall, Leuit Thaddeus Clark, Leuit Eliha Andrews, Mr. Eliha Gallison, Leuit George Ingersoll, Leuit Ambrous Davis, Mr. Robert Lawrance, Mr. John Palmer and others &c.

"It is ordered that sixty souldjers be Quartered in Falmouth, besides the Inhabitents, and the Souldjers that shall Belonge to the floart, which shall

go home by land, that fo he might the better comply with his orders. The poor People the Inhabitants of *Casco* and Places Adjacent, when they ſaw he was going away from them, lamented ſadly, & beg'd earneſtly that he would ſuffer them to come away in the Tranſports; ſaying if he left them there, that in the Spring of the Year the Enemy would come and deſtroy 'em and their Families, &c. So by their earneſt requeſt the ſaid Maj. *Church* promiſed them, that if the Governments that had now ſent him, would ſend him the next Spring, he would certainly come with his Volunteers and *Indians* to their relief: And that

be fifteen Souldjers beſides the Comānder and Guñer, and the Remayner to be ſent to Boſton, to be Ready to Returne Accordinge to Order.

"Itt is Ordered that there be A Sufficient Garriſon Erected about Mr Galifons houſe for a mayne Court of Guard, Together with Mr Robert Lawrence, his Garriſon, which two Garriſons are to be ſupplied with the Sixty Souldjers left for to guard the ſaid towne.

"Itt is Ordered that Capt Nathaniel Hall is to take Charge as Comānder in Cheife of thoſe forces that are leftt for the defence of the Above ſaid three Townes, Thoſe Souldjers that belong to Foart Loyall only to be under the Comander of ſaid Foart.

"Ordered that Lieut Richard Huniwell, is to Take the Charge and Conduct of the twenty Souldjers quartered at Blew-point Black point and Spurwinck Garriſons, as he the ſaid Lieut. Huniwell ſhall Receive orders from

time to time from the ſaid Comānder in Cheife.

"Itt is Ordered that Enſigne John Hill is to take the Care and Conduct of thoſe twenty Souldjers Quartered at Saco Garriſon as the ſaid Enſigne Hill ſhall Receive orders from time to time, from his ſaid Comander in Cheife.

"Itt is Ordered that the ſorty Souldjers poſted att Saco, Scarborough and Spurwinke are to be obedient unto the Comānders of the ſeverall Garriſons where they ſhall be poſted whilſt in Garriſon, but to Attend the Comānds of Lieut. Huniwell and Enſigne John Hill reſpectively as they are Concerned upon their ſcoutinge or marching out:

Given under my hand this 14th of November: 1689:

"By Conſent of ſaid: Councill

"p mee

"BENJAMIN CHURCH

Comānder in Cheife."

[*Drake's Baylies's Hiſt. Mem. Plym. Col. Part 5, p. 84.*]

as soon as he had been at home, and taken a little care of his own business, he would certainly wait upon the Gentlemen of *Boston*, and inform them of the Promise he had made to them; and if they did not see cause to send 'em relief, to intreat their Honours seasonably to draw them off, that they might not be a prey to the barbarous Enemy. Taking his leave of those poor Inhabitants some⁶² of the chief men there waited upon him to *Black Point*, to Capt. *Scottaway* Garrison; coming there they prevail'd with the said Capt. *Scottaway* to go with him to *Boston*, which he readily comply'd with, provided the said *Church* would put another in to Command the Garrison; which being done and taking their leaves one of another, they set out and travelled thro' all the Country home to *Boston*: (having employ'd himself to the utmost to fulfill his Instructions last received from *Boston* Gentlemen, which cost him about a Months Service more and above what he had pay from *Plymouth* Gentlemen) and in his travel homeward several Gentlemen waited upon the said Maj *Church* who was oblig'd to bare their Expences. When he came to *Boston* Gentlemen, he inform'd them of the miseries those poor People were in by having their Provisions taken from

⁶² *Thomas Scottow* (*Scottaway*) was son of Joshua, of Boston and Scarborough; was born 30 June, 1659; graduated at Harvard College, 1677; was at Black Point, 1679; swore allegiance, 1681; was appointed Register of Probate and County Commissioner under Andros in 1688; in 1689 had command

of the garrison his father had built; subsequently to the war, and his father's death, disgusted with the savage hostilities incident to residence there, he sold his Scarborough property to Timothy Prout, and left the place. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 40; *Williamson's Hist. Me.* i: 692; *Willis's Portland*, 220.]

them by order of the President, &c.⁶³ Then went home; said not long there before he return'd to *Boston*,⁶⁴ where Capt. *Scottaway* waited for his coming, that he might have the determination of the Government of *Boston* to carry home with him; and it being the time of the *Small Pox*⁶⁵ there (and Maj *Church* not having had it) taking up his Lodging near the Court-house,⁶⁶ took the first opportunity [65] to inform those Gentlemen of the Court his business; who said they were very busy in sending home Sir *Edmund*, the Ship being ready to Sail.⁶⁷ The said Maj.

⁶³ "President Danforth, by requiring of them provisions for a supply of the military, had brought them into great distress." [Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 618.]

⁶⁴ As, on the 6th Feb., he had been waiting in Boston three weeks, the date of his "returning" to that city, here mentioned, must have been about Wednesday, 16 Jan., 1688 $\frac{9}{10}$.

⁶⁵ The small-pox raged in Boston during the spring and summer of 1690; and this testimony of Church's shows that its ravages had commenced as early as January, 1688 $\frac{9}{10}$. Samuel Green, jr., the printer, died, after an illness of three days with it, in July, 1690; and his wife followed him a few days after. In August, 1690, a son of Rev. John Cotton wrote to his father, "The small-pox is as bad as ever." [Thomas's *Hist. Printing*, i: 282.]

⁶⁶ The first Boston Court House, or Town House, was begun to be built about 1657. It stood where the "old State House" now stands, in the head

of State Street, and was burned in the great fire of 1711, being built of wood. [Drake's *Hist. Bos.* i: 350.]

⁶⁷ The exact date of the shipping of Andros for England seems to have been singularly unnoted in the records of the time; and is, perhaps, more nearly determined by what Church says here than in any other way. Hutchinson says [*Hist. Mass.* i: 349], "The first opportunity (the beginning of February) after the arrival of the King's order, he, with Mr. Dudley and several others, embarked for England." Mr. Drake [*Hist. Bos.* i: 486] says, "Some time in the winter following [that of 1688 $\frac{9}{10}$], an order was received from their Majesties to send the prisoners over thence; and they were accordingly sent in the first ship bound to that country." The author of the Life of Andros [*Governors of Mass. Bay*, 419] says, "In February, 1690, they were sent home to England." Elliott [*New-Eng. Hist.* i: 380] says, "In February, 1689, with Dudley and some

Church still waiting upon them, and at every opportunity intreating those Gentlemen in the behalf of the poor People of *Casco*, informing them the necessity of taking care of them either by sending them relief early in the Spring, or suffer them to draw off, otherwise they would certainly be destroyed, &c. There answer was, They could do nothing till Sir *Edmund* was gone. Waiting there three weeks upon great expences, he concluded to draw up some of the circumstances of *Casco* and Places Adjacent, and to leave it upon the Council-Board, before the Governour & Council; having got it done, obtained liberty to go up where the Governour and Council was fitting, he inform'd their Honours, that he had waited till his Patience was wore out; so had drawn up the matter to leave upon the Board before them: which is as follows.

*To the Honoured Governour and Council of the
Massachusetts.*

Gentlemen,

W*Hereas by vertue of Yours with Plymouths desires
and Commands, I went Eastward in the last Expe-
dition against the Common Indian Enemy, where Providence*

others, he was sent away to England." Barry [*Hist. Mass.* i: 508] says, "By the first opportunity the prisoners were sent to England in the ship 'Mehitabel,' Gilbert Baut, master," and places in the margin the date of "Feb. 9, 1683⁹/₉." The date of Church's communication to the Governor and Council seems to

make it clear, that, so far as he was informed, as late as the 6th Feb., 1683⁹/₉ there was no immediate probability that the ship would fail; as, had he seen such a probability, having waited three weeks, he would have been likely to have waited at least a very few days longer in hope to secure his end.

fo ordered that we Attack'd their greatest body of Forces, coming then for the Destruction of Falmouth, which we know March'd off Repul'd with considerable Damage, leaving the ground, and never since seen there, or in any Place Adjacent: the time of the Year being then too late to prosecute any further design, and other Accidents falling contrary to my expectation, Impeding the desired Success. Upon my then Removal from the Province of Maine, the Inhabitants were very Solicitous that this Enemy might be further Prosecuted, willing to venture their Lives and Fortunes in said Enterprize, wherein they might serve God, their King and Country, and enjoy Quiet & Peaceable Habitations; Upon which I promised to signifye the same to Your Selves, and willing to ventue that little which Providence hath be-trusted me with on the said account. The Season of the Year being such if some speedy Action be not performed in Attacking them, they will certainly be upon us in our Out Towns (God knows where) and the Inhabitants there being not able to Defend themselves, without doubt many Souls may be cut off, as our last Years Expericnce wofully hath declared; The Inhabitants there trust to your Protection, having undertaken Government and your Propriety;⁶⁸ If nothing be performed on the said account (The best way under Correction⁶⁹) is to Demolish the Garrison, and draw off the Inhabitants, that they may not be left to a Merciless Enemy; and that the Arms and Ammunition may not be there left for the

⁶⁸ "Propriety — property." [Bailey.] judgment, holding myself liable to cor-

⁶⁹ That is — "the best way, in my rection by your superior wisdom."

strengthening of the Enemy; who without doubt have need enough, having exhausted their greatest Store in this Winter Season: I have performed my Promise to them, and acquitted my self in Specifying the same to your selves: Not that I desire to be in any Action (altho' willing to serve my King & Country) and may pass under the censure of Scandalous Tongues in the last Expedition, which I hope they will amend on the first opportunity of Service. I leave to the Mature Consideration, the loss of [66] Trade and Fishery, the War brought to the Doors; what a Triumph will it be to the Enemy, derision to our Neighbours, besides dishonour to God and our Nation, and grounds of frowns from our Prince, the frustration of those whose eyes are upon you for help, who might have otherwise applyed themselves to their King. Gentlemen, this I thought humbly to propose unto you, that I might discharge my self in my trust from your Selves, and Promise to the Inhabitants of the Province, but especially my Duty to God, His Majesty and my Nation, Praying for Your Honours Prosperity, Subscribe,

A true Copy given in at *Boston*, Your Servant,
this 6th of *February* 1689. Benj. Church.

At the Council Board. *Attest T. S.*

Maj. *Church* said moreover that in thus doing he had comply'd with his Promise to those poor People of *Casco*, and should be quit from the guilt of their blood: the Governour was pleased to Thank him for his care & pains taken. Then taking his leave of them went home, and

left Capt. *Scottaway* in a very forrowful condition, who return'd home sometime after with only a Copy of what was left on the Board by the said *Church*. Maj. *Church* not hearing any thing till *May* following and then was inform'd, That those poor People of *Casco* were cut off by the barbarous Enemy: and that altho' they made their terms with Monsieur *Casfeen*, who was Commander of those Enemies, yet he suffered those Merciless Salvages, to Massacre & Destroy the most of them.⁷⁰ To conclude this first Expedition, *Eaft*; I shall just give you a hint how Maj. *Church* was treated (altho' he was Commander in Chief of all the Forces out of *Plymouth* and *Boston* Government) after he came home, for *Plymouth* Gentlemen paid him but *Forty two Pounds*;⁷¹ telling him, He must go to *Boston* Gentlemen for the rest, who were his employers as well as they. Of whom he never had one Penny for all Travel and Expences in Raising Volunteers, and Services done; except *Forty Shillings* or there about, for going from *Boston* to *Rhode-Island* on their business, and back to

⁷⁰ *Frontenac* sent a body of French and Indians with a large company of *Tarratines* under *Castin*, early in May, against Falmouth. They made their attack 16 May, and 20 May. *Castin* having "lifted his hand and sworn by the great and everliving God" to keep the articles of surrender, the garrison of Fort Loyall surrendered; to find every article violated, with insult, abuse, and the most fiendish atrocities. [3 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* i: 101-112.]

⁷¹ Plymouth Colony voted, 25 Dec., 1689, to pay Major Church "£10. (besides what he hath received from the Bay) more than his wages by the weeke, and that his weekly wages as Major in ye late expedition be 40 s."; and "that Major Church shall have £5. cash, and Capt. Bassitt £3. cash, part of what is due to them from the Colony paid to them by the Countables of Plymouth out of the last rate." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 229.]

Boston again: Allò for fending a Man to *Providence* for Capt. *Edmunds*⁷² (who raif'd a Company in thofe Parts) and went *East* with them.

The Second Expedition, *East*.

IN the Year 1690. was the Expedition to *Canada*, and Maj. *Walley* often requested Maj *Church* that if he would not go himfelf in that expedition, that he would not hinder others: He answered the faid *Walley*, That he fhould hinder none but his old Souldiers, that us'd to go along with him, &c. And the faid *Church* going down to *Charlestown* to take his leave of fome of his Relations,⁷³ and Friends, who were going in that Expedition, promifed his Wife and Family not to go into *Boston*, the Small Pox being very brief⁷⁴ there.⁷⁵ Coming to *Charlestown*, feveral of his Friends in *Boston* came over to fee him; and the next day after the faid *Church* came there, Maj. *Walley* [67] came to him, and inform'd him, That the Governour

⁷² See Part I, note 116.

⁷³ John Walley wrote, 21 Apr., 1690, to Gov. Hinckley, "The Indians of Dartmouth and Seaconnet — which are about 100 men, 50 or more armed — have had a meeting: chofe Lieut. Southard for their Captain or Commander, and one Daniel Eaton; under whom they are willing to ferve the Englifh, if we fhould be affaulted. They have chofe Captain *Numpas* and another Indian for their Indian Com-

manders." [Hinckley Papers, 4 *Mafs. Hift. Coll.* v: 247.] This "Lieut. Southward" was doubtless *Church's* brother-in-law, William Southworth [see note 53, *ante*]; and, if he went to the war, he was probably one of the "relations" here referred to. Mr. Drake thinks he was (by his nickname *Bill*) the "B. Southworth" of Part I. page 35.

⁷⁴ An evident mifprint for "rife" which Dr. Stiles corrected.

⁷⁵ See note 65, *ante*.

and Council wanted to speak with him: He answered him, That he had promis'd his Wife and Family not to go into *Boston*; saying, If they had any business, they could Write to him, and that he would send them his answer. Soon after came over two other Gentlemen with a Message, that the Governour & Council wanted to have some discourse with him: The answer return'd was, That he intended to lodge that Night at the *Gray-hound* in *Roxbury*, and that in the Morning would come to *Pollards* at the South End of *Boston*; ⁷⁶ which accordingly he did: soon after he came thither received a letter from the Honourable Capt. *Sewall* ⁷⁷ to request him to come to the Council;

⁷⁶ *William Pollard* was son of William and Ann (who was wont to boast that she went over in the first boat that crossed Charles River, in 1630, and was first to jump ashore at what is now Boston), b. 20 Mar., 1653; m. Margaret —; had William, b. 21 Dec., 1687 William again, 2 Apr., 1690, and Jonathan. Joined the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Co., 1679. He kept an "ordinary," as I learn from the record, (through J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., from the kindness of W. I. Bowditch, Esq.,) a little over 100 ft. just south of Eliot St., on Washington St. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iii: 449; Whitman's *Hist. Anc. & Hon. Art. Co.* 211.]

⁷⁷ *Samuel Sewall*, son of Henry, was born at Horton, near Basingstoke, Eng., 28 March, 1652; came to New England with his mother 1661; graduated at Harvard Coll. 1671; was Captain of militia in Boston, and Major of the

regiment 1675-6; admitted freeman 1678; joined the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Co., 1679; was Captain of it 1701; Superintendent of the press 1681; Assistant 1684-6, and again 1689-92; Judge of Superior Court 1692, and one of special Commission to try the witches; Judge of Probate for 1715; Chief-justice 1718-1728; died in Boston, 30 Jan., 1730, *æt.* 78. He was a book-feller at one time, and printed an edition of the catechism with his own hand. He is now chiefly remembered for his copious notes of the facts of the time, in journals, almanacs, &c., &c. He married (1) 28 Feb., 1676, Hannah, only surviving child of John Hull, mint-master, by whom he had John, Samuel, Hannah, Elizabeth, Hull, Henry, Stephen, Joseph, Judith, Mary, Sarah, Judith (again), and another; (2) 29 Oct., 1719, Abigail, daughter of Jacob Mel-

the answer he return'd by the bearer was, That he thought there was no need of his hazarding himself so much as to come & speak with them; not that he was afraid of his Life, but because he had no mind to be concern'd any further, by reason they would not hearken to him about the poor People of *Casco*. But immediately came Mr. *Maxfield*⁷⁸ to him, saying, That the Council bid him tell the said *Church*, That if he would take his Horse and ride along the middle of the Street there might be no danger, they were then sitting in Council: He bid him go and tell his Masters, Not to trouble themselves, whether he came upon his head or feet, he was coming: however thinking the return was something rude, call'd him back to drink a Glas of Wine, and then he would go with him. So coming to the Council, They were very thankful to him for his coming; and told him that the occasion of their sending for him was, That there was a Captive come in who gave them an account, That the *Indians* were come down and had taken possession of the Stone Fort at *Pejepscot*,⁷⁹ so that they wanted his advice & thoughts about the matter; whither

yen, and widow of William Tilley and James Woodmanfey; (3) 29 Mar., 1722, Mary, daughter of Henry Shrimpton, and widow of Robert Gibbs. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 55; *Hist. Anc. & Hon. Art.* 208; Walburn's *Judic. Hist. Mass.* 258-263.]

⁷⁸ James Maxwell was doorkeeper for the Governor and Council and Court in 1693, and was probably the man Church here had in mind. Indeed,

Savage admits that the name may be the same as Maxfield. He was a member of the "Scot's Charitable Society," in Boston, in 1684. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iii: 183; Drake's *Hist. Bost.* i: 455.]

⁷⁹ *Pejepscot* fort was situated on the western side of what are now known as *Pejepscot* Lower Falls, or Brunswick falls, on the *Androscoggin*. [Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 46, 590, 624.]

they would tarry and keep in that Fort or not? and whither it was not expedient to send some Forces to do some spoil upon them; and further to know whither he could not be prevail'd with to Raise some Volunteers and go, to do some spoil upon them? He answer'd them, he was unwilling to be concern'd any more; it being very difficult and chargeable to Raise Volunteers, as he found by experience in the last Expedition. But they using many arguments prevail'd so far with him, That if the Government of *Plymouth* saw cause to send him (he would go) thinking the Expedition would be short. Took his leave of them & went home. And in a short time after there came an Express from Governour *Hinkley*, to request Maj *Church* to come down to *Barnstable* to him: he having received a Letter from the Government of *Boston* to raise some Forces to go *East*; whereupon the said Maj. *Church* went the next day to *Barnstable*, as ordered; finding the Governour and some of the Council of War there,⁸⁰ dis-

⁸⁰ The Council of War at this time, by law of 1671, was composed of the Governor and Assistants as annually chosen, "and a like number of other trusty and able men chosen also by the General Court, and from year to year filled up, if by death removed, or otherwise any of them be wanting, or incapacitated to perform their trust." The Governor and Assistants this year were:—

Thomas Hinckley, Gov.,	(Barnstable.)
William Bradford, Dep. Gov.,	(Plymouth.)
John Freeman,	(Eastham.)

John Thacher,	(Yarmouth.)
John Walley,	(Barnstable.)
John Cushing,	(Scituate.)

To these were added, in 1689, to make up the Council of War, the following, viz:—

Nathaniel Byfield,	(Bristol.)
Capt. Jonathan Sparrow,	(Eastham.)
Lieut. Isaac Little,	(Marblehead.)

Who, of the number formerly appointed, held over to complete the number, we are not informed. [Brigham's *Laws of Col. of New Plym.* 285; *Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 205, 212.]

cous'd him, concluding that he should take his *Indian* Souldiers, and two *English* Captains with what Volunteers as could be raised; and that one Capt. should go out of *Plymouth* and *Barnstable* County, and the other out of *Bristol* County,⁸¹ with [68] what Forces he could raise, concluding to have but few Officers, to save Charge: the said *Church* was at great Charge & Expence in raising of Forces. Governour *Hinkley* promised that he would take care to provide Vessels to transport the said Army with Ammunition & Provisions, by the time prefixt by himself, for the Government of *Boston* had oblig'd themselves by their Letter, to provide any thing that was wanting; so at the time prefixt Major *Church* March'd down all his Souldiers out of *Bristol* County to *Plymouth*, as ordered; and being come, found it not as he expected, for there was neither Provisions, Ammunition nor Transports; so he immediately sent an Express to the Governour who was at *Barnstable*, to give him an account that he with the Men were come to *Plymouth*, and found nothing ready; in his⁸² return to the said *Church*, gave him an account of his dis-appointments; and sent *John Lathrop*⁸³ of *Barnstable* in a

⁸¹ The Plymouth Records show that the Court, which met 5 June, 1690, took action in regard to co-operating with the Mass. Colony in the proposed expedition to Canada, and appointed Capt. Joseph Silvester (of Scituate) and Mr. John Gorham (of Barnstable) to be Captains, with Jabez Snow (of Eastham) and Samuel Gallop (of Boston?) Lieutenants. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 250.]

⁸² That is, Gov. Hinkley, in his reply to Church's message, "gave him an account, &c."

⁸³ *John Lathrop* was youngest son of Rev. John, of Barnstable; married 3 Jan., 1672, at Plymouth, Mary Cole; had John, Mary, Martha, Elizabeth, James, Hannah, Jonathan, Barnabas, Abigail, and Experience; died 17 Sept., 1727, *at.* 85. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iii: 120.]

Vessel with some Ammunition and Provision on board, to him at *Plymouth*; also sent him word that there was more on board of *Samuel Alling*⁸⁴ of *Barnstable*, who was to go for a Transport, and that he himself would be at *Plymouth* the next day: but *Alling* never came near him, but went to *Billings-gate* at *Cape-cod*,⁸⁵ as he was inform'd. The Governour being come, said to Maj. *Church* that he must take some of the open Sloops, and make Spar-Decks to them, and lay Platforms for the Souldiers to lye upon; which delays were very Expensive to the said *Church*; his Souldiers being all Volunteers, daily expected to be treated by him, and the *Indians* always begging for Money to get drink: but he using his utmost diligence, made what dispatch he could to be gone. Being ready to Imbark, received his Commission and Instructions from Governour *Hinkley*, which are as followeth, *viz.*

The Council of War of their Majesty's Colony of New-Plymouth in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church Commander in Chief, &c.

W*Hereas the Kenebeck and Eastward Indians, with the French their Confederates have openly made War*

⁸⁴ *Samuel Allyn* of *Barnstable*, eldest son of *Thomas* of the same, born 10 Feb., 1644 $\frac{3}{4}$; was Lieut., and Town Clerk; was Deputy 1682-4; married *Hannah*, daughter of Rev. *Thomas Walley*; had *Thomas*, *Samuel*, *Joseph*, *Hannah*, and *Elizabeth*; died 25 Nov., 1726, æt. 82. [*Freeman's Hist. Cape Cod*, ii: 274.]

⁸⁵ "Billingsgate Point is on the west side of the town [*Eastham*], about 6 miles from the main land, with which it was formerly connected; but for many years it has been an island, the sea having broken over and washed it away in two places, where is sufficient water for small vessels to pass through." [*Pratt's Hist. Eastham*, 2.)

upon their Majesty's Subjects of the Provinces of Maine, New-Hampshire and of the Massachusetts Colony, having committed many Barbarous Murders, Spoils and Rapines upon their Persons and Estates. And whereas there are some Forces of Souldiers English & Indians now raised and detached out of the severall Regiments and Places within this Colony of New-Plymouth,⁸⁶ to go forth to the Assistance of our Neighbours and Friends of the aforesaid Provinces & Colony of the Massachusetts, Subjects of one and the same Crown. And whereas you Benjamin Church are appointed to be Major and Commander in Chief of all the Forces English & Indians detached within this Colony, together with such other of their Majesty's Subjects as else where shall List themselves, or shall be orderly put under your Command for the Service of their Majesties as aforesaid. These are in their Majesties Name to Authorize and Require You to take into your Care & Conduct all the said Forces English & Indians, and diligently to Intend that Service, by Leading

⁸⁶ The proportion fixed by the Plymouth Court, on which these foldiers were to be raised and armed, was as follows:—

	Men. Armes.			Men. Armes.	
Plymouth,	13	4	Falmouth,	2	1
Duxbury,	7	2	Monamoy,	2	1
Marthfield,	7	2	Rocheſter,	2	1
Scituate,	16	5	Bristol,	6	2
Bridgewater.	8	2	Swanſey,	7	3
Middleborough,	3	1	Little Compton,	4	2
Barnſtable,	12	4	Dartmouth,	8	3
Sandwich,	10	3	Taunton,	14	4
Yarmouth,	10	3	Rehoboth,	10	3
Eaſtham,	10	3	Freetown,	2	1

It was ordered, alſo, that there be raised 50 Indians,— 22 in the county of Barnſtable, 22 in the county of Briſtol, and 6 in that of Plymouth. Alſo, Plymouth County was to “provide armes and other neceſſaries” for 18 men, Barnſtable County for 15, and Briſtol County for 17. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 249.] The debt incurred by the Plymouth Colony for its ſhare of the expenſes of this campaign amounted to £1,350. The entire ratable eſtate of that Colony, then, was £35,900.

& Exercising of your Inferiour Officers and Souldiers, Commanding them to Obey [69] you as their Chief Commander. And to pursue, fight, take, kill or destroy the said Enemies their Aiders and Abettors by all the ways and means you can, as you shall have opportunity, & to accept to Mercy or grant Quarter & Favour to such or so many of said Enemies as you shall find needful for promoting the design aforesaid. And you to observe and obey all such Orders and Instructions, as from time to time you shall receive from the Commissioners of the Colonies, or the Council of War of the said Colony of New-Plymouth, or from the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts. In Testimony whereof is affixed the Publick Seal of this Colony. Dated in Plymouth the Second day of September, Anno Domi. 1690. Annoque Regni Regis et Reginae Willielmi et Mariae &c. Secundo.

Tho. Hinkley President.

Instructions *for Major Benjamin Church Commander in Chief of the Plymouth Forces, with other of the Massachusetts put under his Command.*

‘ **I**N pursuance of the Commission given you for their
 ‘ Majesty’s Service in the present Expedition against
 ‘ the Common Enemy, *Indian & French* their Aiders and
 ‘ Abettors, on the request of our Brethren and Friends of
 ‘ the *Massachusetts* Colony, Subjects of one and the same
 ‘ Crown of *England*; for our Assistance of them therein.
 ‘ Reposing confidence in your Wisdom, Prudence, Proness

‘and Faithfulness in the trust under God committed to you
 ‘for the Honour of His Name, the Interest of Christ in
 ‘these Churches, and the good of the whole People; Pray-
 ‘ing and Expecting that in your dependance on Him, you
 ‘may be helped and Assisted with all that Grace, Wisdom
 ‘and Courage necessary for the carrying of you on with
 ‘Success in this difficult Service; and tho’ much is and
 ‘must be left to your discretion, with your Council of Offi-
 ‘cers, as Providence & Opportunity may present from time
 ‘to time in Places of action. Yet the following Instruc-
 ‘tions are commended to you to be observed & attended
 ‘by you, so far as the State and Circumstances of that affair
 ‘will admit.

‘You are with all possible speed to take care that the
 ‘*Plymouth* Forces both *English* & *Indians* under your
 ‘Command be fixed & ready on the first opportunity of
 ‘Wind & Weather, to go on board such Vessels, as are
 ‘provided to transport you to *Piscataqua*; ⁸⁷ and there take
 ‘under your care & command such Companies of the
 ‘*Massachusetts* Colony, as shall by them be ordered and
 ‘added to you there, or else where from time to time; all
 ‘which you are to improve in such way, and from place to
 ‘place, as with the advice of your Council, consisting of the
 ‘Commission Officers of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and
 ‘*Plymouth* under your conduct, shall seem meet, for the
 ‘finding out, pursuing, taking or destroying of said com-
 ‘mon Enemy, on all opportunities, according to Commis-

⁸⁷ Portsmouth, N.H.

‘fion, and fuch further Orders & Inſtructions as you have
 ‘or may receive from the Governour & Council of the
 ‘*Maſſachuſetts*, the Commiſſioners for the United Colonies,
 ‘or the Governour & Council of *Plymouth*; ſo far as you
 ‘may be capable, Intending what you can the preſerving
 ‘of the near Towns from the Incurſions and [70] deſtruc-
 ‘tion of the Enemy: But chiefly to intend the finding out,
 ‘purſuing, taking and deſtroying the Enemy abroad, and if
 ‘poſſible to attack them in their head quarters and principal
 ‘Randezvouz, if you are in a rational capacity of ſo doing;
 ‘and for the better enabling you thereunto, We have ap-
 ‘pointed the Veſſels that tranſport you, and the Proviſions,
 ‘&c. to attend your motion & order, until you ſhall ſee
 ‘cauſe to diſmiſs them, or any one of them, which is
 ‘deſired to be done the firſt opportunity that the Ser-
 ‘vice will admit. You are to ſee that your Souldiers
 ‘Armes be always fixt, and they provided with Ammu-
 ‘nition, and other neceſſaries, that they may be always
 ‘ready to repel and attack the Enemy. You are to take
 ‘ſpecial care to avoid danger in the purſuit of the Enemy’s
 ‘by keeping out Scouts, and a forlorn,⁸⁸ to prevent the
 ‘Ambuſhments of the Enemy on your main body in their
 ‘Marches. And by all poſſible means to ſurprize ſome of
 ‘the Enemy, that ſo you may gain better Intelligence.

‘You are to take effectual care that the worſhip of God

⁸⁸ “*Forlorn*—men detached from ſeveral regiments, or otherwiſe appointed to give the firſt onſet in battle,

or to begin the attack of a beſieged place.” [*Bailey*.] “*Forlorn-hope*” comes from it, as implying ſpecial danger.

‘ be kept up in the Army, that Morning and Evening Prayer
 ‘ be attended, and the holy Sabbath duly Sanctified, as the
 ‘ Emergency of your affairs will admit.

‘ You are to take strict care to prevent or punish Drunk-
 ‘ enness, Curfing, Swearing and all other Vice; least the
 ‘ anger of God be thereby provoked to fight against you.
 ‘ You are from time to time to give Intelligence and advice
 ‘ to the Governour of the *Massachusetts*, and to us of your
 ‘ proceeding and occurrences that may attend you. And in
 ‘ case of a failure of any Commission Officers, you are to
 ‘ appoint others in their stead. And when with the advice
 ‘ of your Council aforesaid, you shall after some tryal see
 ‘ your Service not like to be advantageous to the accom-
 ‘ plishment of the Publick end aforesaid: That then you
 ‘ return home with the Forces; especially if you shall
 ‘ receive any orders or directions so to do from the *Massa-*
 ‘ *chusetts*, or from us *Given under my hand at Plymouth,*
 ‘ *the 2d day of September, Anno Domi 1690.*

‘ *Tho. Hinckley* GOV. & President.

Now having a fair Wind Maj *Church* soon got to *Piscata-*
aqua,⁸⁹ who was to apply himself to Maj. *Pike*⁹⁰ a worthy

⁸⁹ If Church failed from Plymouth immediately on receipt of his commission and instructions, he probably got off on Tuesday, 2 Sept., 1690. On the following Tuesday he received his instructions at Portsmouth from Major Pike, and speaks of being delayed about

9 days. He probably reached *Piscataqua* on Wednesday, 3 Sept., and received the Major's instructions two or three days before he was ready to move upon *Pejepscot*.

⁹⁰ *Robert Pike*, of Salisbury, son of John, of Newbury; was freeman 17

Gentleman, who said, He had advice of his coming from *Boston* Gentlemen; also he had received directions that what Men the said *Church* should want must be raised out of *Hampshire*; out of their several Towns and Garrisons: Maj. *Pike* ask'd him, How many Men he should want? He said enough to make up his Forces that he brought with him, 300 at least, and not more than 350. And so in about Nine days time he was supply'd with two Companies of Souldiers. He having been at about *Twenty Shillings* a day charge in expences while there. Now he received Maj. *Pike's* Instructions: which are as followeth,

Portsmouth in New-Hampshire, Sept. 9, 1690.

To Maj. Benjamin Church Commander in Chief of their Majesty's Forces now designed upon the present Expedition Eastward, & now Resident at Portsmouth. [71]

T*He Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony reposing great trust and confidence in your Loyalty & Valour from experience of your former Actions, and of Gods presence with you in the same. In pursuant of an Order received from them, Commanding it. These are in their Majesty's Names to Impower and Require you as Commander in Chief, to take into your care and conduct these Forces*

May, 1637; Representative from S., 1648. and some following years; Assistant 1682 and 1691; Councillor 1689 and 1691; was Major in one of the Essex regiments. He married, 3 April, 1641,

Sarah Sanders, and had Sarah, Mary, Dorothy, Mary (again), Elizabeth, John, Robert, and Moses; died 12 Dec., 1706, *æt.* 91. He was early a church member. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iii: 436.]

now here present at their *Randevvouz* at Portsmouth; and they are alike required to obey you: and with them to Sail Eastward by the first opportunity to Casco, or Places Adjacent, that may be most commodious for Landing with safety and secrecy, and to visit the Enemy French & Indians at their head quarters at Ameras-cogen,⁹¹ Pejepscoot, or any other Plat, according as you may have hope or intelligence of the Resident of the Enemy; using always your utmost endeavour for the preservation of your own Men, and the killing, destroying and utterly rooting out the Enemy wheresoever they may be found; as also as much as may possibly be done for the redeeming or recovering of our Captives in any Places.

You being then arrived, & understanding your way, to take your Journey back again either by Land or Water, as you shall judge most convenient for the accomplishing of the end intended; and to give intelligence always of your motions whensoever you can with safety and convenience.

Lastly, in all to consult your Council the Commanders or

⁹¹ *Androscoggin*. On a rude pen-drawn map [in the Connecticut Archives, *War. Vol. III. Doc. 86* (for a copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull)], bearing notes in the handwriting of Hon. William Pitkin, who was one of the two Connecticut Commissioners at the meeting in Boston, which declared war with the Eastern Indians, and appointed Church commander (see note 27, *ante*), — which

map is clearly contemporaneous, and may have been traced by Church to assist their deliberations, — this is written in two words, thus, *Ambrofs Cogan*, and is stated to be “about 80 myle from the sea.” It was situated upon a territory which used to be called by the Indians *Roccamacco*, and was the headquarters of the *Androscoggin* tribe, and seems to have been near the great *Pennacook* falls on the *Androscoggin* river, in Rumford. [*Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 323.]

Commission Officers of your severall Companies, when it may be obtained, the greater part of whom to determine, and so the Lord of Host the God of Armies go along with you, and be your Conduēt. Given under my hand the day and year aboveſaid.
Per Robert Pike.

Being ready,⁹² they took the first opportunity and made the best of their way to *Pejepscot* Fort,⁹³ where they found nothing. From thence they March'd to *Ameras-cogen*,⁹⁴

⁹² Church's letter to Gov. Hinckley, of date 30 Sept., 1690, narrating the events of this expedition—lately printed by Mr. S. G. Drake in his additions to Baylies's *Plymouth* [pp. 90-97]—says, "We sett faile from Pifcataqua upon the 10th instant, at 2 in the afternoon, and came the 11th in the night amongst the Islands in Casco Bay." He proceeds as follows:—

"Laid the vessells cloſe out of fight—went on shore at breake of day, upon an Island that had been inhabited by the English, called *Capoag* [*Chebeague*, or *Chebacco*, now known as Great *Gebeag*, and called "*Shcab*" on the "Ancient Plan."] We ranged about, found where the enemy had lately been, but were drawn off. This was the twelfth day. In the evening we wayed and came down to *Macquait* [*Maquoit*, or *Marquoit*, the N. E. termination of *Magocook* bay, in Freeport, Me.], and the 13th day about 2: of the clocke in the morning we landed our men silently upon the Maine; and leaveing souldiers on board to keep the vessells, we marched in the night up to *Pochipscutt* [*Pejep-*

scot] fort,—diuided the army into: 3: companies, furrounded the fort, and when daylight appeared we found that the enemy were removed not long before we came there; also the souldiers found some little plunder, and a barn of corn."

⁹³ Williamſon [*Hiſt. Me.* i: 624] makes the careless mistake of representing the flight of Doney, the release of the captives, &c., which really took place on the next day (Sabbath, 14 Sept., 1690) at the upper falls, as taking place here at Brunswick Lower Falls.

⁹⁴ Church says in his letter [see note 92, *ante*] that he went up "on the S. W. side of the river altho the way was extream difficult: yet it was a more obscure way: the enemy useing to march on the N. E. side." He further says [p. 91] that they marched on the same day (Saturday) on which they reached *Pejepscot*, "above the middle falls, about 20 miles," when it rained hard, and they there encamped. This was at Lewiston Falls, called by the Indians *Amityonpontook*. They marched

and when they came near the Fort Maj. *Church* made a halt, ordering the Captains to draw out of their several Companies 60 of their meanest men, to be a guard to the Doctor & Snapfacks;⁹⁵ being not a Mile from said Fort; and then Moving towards the Fort, they saw young *Doney*⁹⁶ and his Wife, with two *Englisch* Captives: the said *Doney* made his escape to the Fort, his Wife was shot down, and so the two poor Captives releas'd out of their bondage. The said Maj. *Church* and Capt. *Walton*⁹⁷ made no stop, making the best of their way to the Fort with some of the Army, in hopes of getting to the Fort before young

the next day at dawn, and came within sight of the fort about 2 P. M. [*Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 322.]

⁹⁵ "In short time came to the westerly branch of the Great River, and there left our baggage and those men that were tired, and made them up to *forty* men to guard the Doctor." Church's *Letter* [*Drake's Baylies*, Pt. v: 91.]

⁹⁶ In his *Book of the Indians* [p. 307], Mr. Drake gives it as his opinion that this *Doney*, or *Dony*, family were French residents among the Indians, like *Castin*, and that this son was a half-breed. Williamson [i: 624] says he was one of the *Sokokis* (or *Sockhigones*), who were the aborigines of the *Saco* valley. Sullivan [*Hist. Dist. Me.* 180] calls old *Doney* "a savage." Mather [*Magnalia*, B. vii: 86, 87] enumerates *Robin Doney* among the Sagamores who signed the "submission" at *Pemmaquid* in 1693, and says he was seized at *Saco* within a year after. He is thought to have been the "Old Doney" mentioned in a letter

written by Church, and the father of this fugitive. Williamson refers to him [i. 642] with *Bomaseen*.

⁹⁷ *Shadrach Walton*, of Great Island (now Newcastle, N.H.), was second son of George and Alice, was b. 1658, was Captain in 1690: Major in the attack on Port Royal in 1707; Colonel of New-Hampshire troops in 1710; Colonel of the Rangers in active service the next winter; was made a Royal Counsellor in 1716; quieted the Eastern Indians in 1720; was senior member and President of the Council Board in 1733; was Judge C. C. P. 1695-1698; Judge S. C. 1698, 1699; and again Judge C. C. P. 1716-1737. He died 3 Oct., 1741, aged 83. He was father of George; Benjamin (H. U. 1729, a minister); Elizabeth (m. Keefe); Abigail (m. Long); Sarah (m. Sheafe); Mary (m. Randall, and became g. g. m. of the founder of the "Free-Will Baptist Connection.") [Rev. A. H. Quint, D.D., in *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* ix: 57.]

Doney; ⁹⁸ but the River thro' which they must pass being as deep as their Arm-pits; however Maj. *Church* as soon as he was got over strip'd to his Shirt and Jacket, leaving his Breeches behind, ran directly to the Fort, having an eye to see if young *Doney*, who ran on the other side of the River should get there before him: the Wind now blowing very hard in their Faces as they ran was some help to them; for several of our Men fired Guns, which they in the Fort did not hear; so that we had taken all in the Fort had it not been for young *Doney*, who got to the Fort just before we did, who ran into the South Gate, and out at the [72] North, all the Men following him except one, who all ran directly down to the great River and Falls. The said *Church* and his Forces being come pretty near, he ordered the said *Walton* to run directly with some Forces into the Fort, and himself with the rest ran down to the River after the Enemy, who ran some of them into the River, and the rest under the great Falls; those who ran into the River

⁹⁸ The account which Church gives in his letter is this:—

“ And looking over the brow of a hill by the river, espied two English captives and an Indian, moving towards the fort: ran after them, and soon took the English but the Indian got clear. Then I feared he would inform the fort: gave order, that all with one consent should run throw the river and not mind any other forme: but he that could get first to the fort, if they had opportunity, to offer them peace. If they would not accept it to fall on, and by that time

they were well entered the rest would be come up: also I gave order for 2 companies to spread between the woods and the fort to prevent the escape of the enemy that way — all which was attended. We were very well running throw the river, but got up undiscovered to the fort till within shot: few Indians we found there, but two men and a lad of about: 18: with some women and children: 5 ran into the river, 3 or 4 of which were killed. We killed 6 or 7, and took eleven.” [Drake's *Baylies*, Pt. v: 91, 92.]

were kill'd, for he saw but one man get over, and he only crept up the bank, and there lay in open fight; and those that ran under the Falls they made no discovery of, notwithstanding several of his men went in under the said Falls, and was gone some considerable time; could not find them; so leaving a Watch there, return'd up to the Fort, where he found but one Man taken & several Women & Children, amongst which was Capt. *Hakins*⁹⁹ Wife & *Worumbos's*¹⁰⁰ Wife, the Sachem of that Fort, with their Children; the said *Hakins* was the Sachem of *Pennacook*, who destroyed Maj *Walden* and his Family, some time before,¹⁰¹ &c. The said two Women, viz. *Hakins* and *Worumbos's* Wives, requested the said *Church* that he would spare them and their Children's lives, promising upon that condition, he should have all the Captives that were taken, and in the *Indians* hands: He ask'd them, How many? they said about four-score: So upon that condition he promis'd them their lives, &c. And in the said Fort there was several *English* Captives, who were in a miserable condition; amongst whom

⁹⁹ *Kankamagus* (alias *John Hogkins*, *Hawkins*, or *Hakins*) was a *Pennacook* Sachem. About 1685 he wrote several letters to Gov. Cranfield, of New Hampshire, disclosing his fear of the *Mohawks* and his desire for English protection. He subsequently fled to the eastward, and joined the *Androscoggins*, where he became hostile to the settlers, and in 1689 headed the massacre of Maj. *Waldron*. His wife and four children were

here taken captive, and his sister was among the slain. [*Book of the Indians*, 297-300; Drake's *Baylies*, Pt. v: 97.]

¹⁰⁰ *Worombo* (*Worumbos*) was a *Tarratine*, and Sachem of *Androscoggin* [*Amos Coggen*, *Church* spells it, in his letter, much as *Pitkin* wrote it (see note 91, *ante*)]. He had two children captured here. [Vid. *Church's Letter*, 97.]

¹⁰¹ See notes 12 and 32, *ante*.

was Capt. *Huckings's* Wife of *Oyster-River*.¹⁰² Maj. Church proceeded to examine the Man taken, who gave him an account that most of their fighting men were gone to *Winter-harbour*, to provide Provisions for the *Bay of Fondy Indians*, who were to come and joyn with them to fight the *Englisk*.¹⁰³ The Souldiers being very rude would hardly spare the *Indians* life, while in examination, intending when he had done that he should be Executed: but Capt. *Huckings* Wife and another Woman down on their knees beg'd for him, saying, He had been a means to save their Lives and a great many more; and had helped several to opportunities to run away & make their escape; and that

¹⁰² "We found a pretty deal of corn in barnes under ground, and destroyed it; also we found guns and amunition a pretty deal, with beauer, and we took 5 English captives, viz. Lieut. Robert Hookins his widow of Oyster River; Benjamin Barnards wife of Salmon Falls; Ann Heard of Cochecho; one Willises daughter of Oyster Riuer, and a boy of Exeter." [*Ibid.* 92.] *Oyster River* was originally a part of Dover, N.H., now Durham. *James Huckins* was son of Robert, Constable 1683; had eldest son Robert; was killed in the onslaught of the Indians in August, 1689. [Farmer's *Belknap's New Hamp.* 131; Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 487.]

¹⁰³ Dictating to his son Thomas a quarter of a century afterwards, it is not strange that some particulars should have faded from the memory of Capt. Church. He here represents his haste to make the best of his way back to

Winter-Harbor to be for the purpose of intercepting and capturing these Indians, who were gone thither for provisions. But in his letter, written at the time, he informs Gov. Hinckley that—

"Both Indians and English informed us that the enemy had lately had a consultation. Many of them were for peace and many against it, and had hired and procured about 300, and intended for Wells with a flagg of truce and offer them peace. If they could not agree then to fall on. If they could not take Wells, then they resolved to attack *Piscataqua*." [p. 92].

He adds [p. 93]: "We made all haste imaginable, for fear some of our towns should be attacked before we came home."

This would seem to be the true explanation of his hurried march back; that he feared a massacre in his absence.

never since he came amongst them had fought against the *English*, but being related to *Hakins* Wife kept at the Fort with them, he having been there two Years; but his living was to the westward of *Boston*. So upon their request his life was spared, &c. Next day the said *Church* ordered that all their Corn should be destroy'd, being a great quantity, saving a little for the two old *Squaws* which he design'd to leave at the Fort to give an account who he was, and from whence he came: the rest being knock'd on the head, except what afore-mentioned, for an example, ordering them to be all buried.¹⁰⁴ Having enquired where all their best Bever was? They said, it was carried away to make a present to the *Bay of Fondy Indians*, who were coming to their Assistance. Now being ready to draw off from thence, he call'd the two old *Squaws* to him, and gave each of them a Kittle and some Biskets, bidding them to tell the *Indians* when they came home, [73] that he was known by the Name of Capt. *Church*, and liv'd in the Westerly part of *Plymouth* Government; and that

¹⁰⁴ There is a tinge of barbarity in the narrative here, which is absent from the letter, and which leads us to imagine that the doughty old warrior, roughly telling his tale so long after, was scarcely just to himself in some of the motives which he intimates. The letter thus narrates it [p. 93], saying nothing about "knocking on the head" for "example," which would have been a most unlikely procedure where the

aim was to secure "the like to ours": "We left two old squaws that were not able to march; gave them victuals enough for one week of their own corn boiled, and a little of our provisions, and buried their dead, and left them clothes enough to keep them warme, and left the wigwams for them to lye in, — gave them orders to tell their friends how kind we were to them, — bidding them doe the like to ours."

those *Indians* that came with him were formerly King *Philips* Men, and that he had met with them in *Philips* War, and drew them off from him, to fight for the *English* against the said *Philip* and his Associates, who then promised him to fight for the *English* as long as they had one Enemy left; and said, that they did not question but before Indian Corn was ripe to have *Philips* head, notwithstanding he had twice as many men as was in their Country; and that they had kill'd and taken one thousand three hundred and odd of *Philips* Men, Women & Children, and *Philip* himself, with several other Sachems, &c. and that they should tell *Hakins* & *Worumbo*, That if they had a mind to see their Wives & Children they should come to *Wells* Garrison, and that there they might hear of them, &c.¹⁰⁵ Maj. *Church* having done, Mov'd with all his Forces down to *Mequoyt*,¹⁰⁶ where the transports were (but in the way some of his Souldiers threatned the *Indian* man Prisoner, very much, so that in a thick Swamp he gave them the slip and got away) and when they all got on board the transport; the Wind being fair made the best of their way for *Winter Harbour*,¹⁰⁷ and the next

¹⁰⁵ The letter says [p. 93]:—

“Also, if they were for peace to come to goodman Smalls [?] att Barwick within 14 dayes, who would attend to discourse them.”

¹⁰⁶ “Returned in that day, and one more, to our vessells at *Macquait*.” [Ibid.]

¹⁰⁷ *Winter-Harbor* was the earliest

known English name for the “Pool” at Saco, Me., near the mouth of the Saco River, above Wood Island, and the settlement which grew up near it. Williamson [*Hist. Me.* i: 26] says it was “so called after an ancient inhabitant there by the name of Winter.” But John Winter lived at Richman’s Island, or at the mouth of the *Spurwink*.

Morning¹⁰⁸ before day, and as soon as the day appear'd they discovered some Smokes rising towards *Skamans* Garrison:¹⁰⁹ He immediately sent away a Scout of 60 Men, and follow'd presently with the whole body;¹¹⁰ the Scout coming near a River discovered the Enemy to be on the other side of the River:¹¹¹ But three of the Enemy was come over the River to the same side of the River which the Scout was of; ran hastily down to their Canoo, two of which lay at each end of the Canoo, and the third stood up to paddle over: The Scout fired at them, and he that paddled fell down upon the Canoo and broke it to pieces, so that all three perished;¹¹² the firing put the Enemy to the

[Willis's *Portland*, 16.] A better suggestion of the origin of the name is that of Foljom [*Hist. Saco*, 24]: "We have the tradition of the inhabitants of that part of Biddeford, that an English vessel wintered in the Pool before the settlement of the country, and that the shelter thus afforded gave rise to the name of *Winter Harbor*."

¹⁰⁸ This would appear to have been *Wednesday*, 17 Sept. The fort was taken on Sunday; Monday "and one more" brought them to *Maquoit*, and "the wind being fair," they seem to have failed immediately, and reached their destination the next morning.

¹⁰⁹ Scammon's Garrison was "on the east side of the Saco, 3 miles below the falls." [*Williamson*, i: 625.] *Humphrey Scammon* (*Scamman*, *Scammond*) was born 1640; m. Elizabeth, dau. of Dominicus Jordan, of *Spurwink*; lived at Kittery Point and Cape Porpoise

(Kennebunk-port) before he went to Saco; where he received a town grant, in 1679, and the same year purchased of Henry Waddock's widow his 200 acres, extending "from the lower part of the river across to Goose-fair brook, and so down to the sea." He died 1 Jan., 1727. Had Humphrey, (b. 10 May, 1677); Elizabeth (m. 1697, Andrew Haley, of Kittery); Mary (m. Puddington); Rebecca (m. Billings); Samuel, (b. 1689.) [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 34; Foljom's *Hist. Saco*, 188.]

¹¹⁰ "I sent out a scout of 60 men to Salco Falls to make discovery; the rest in arms ready on shore: intending at their returne to march by land to Wells." [*Letter*, p. 93.]

¹¹¹ "The scout met with a small party upon the river, making fish and other provisions, viz. old Dony and his crew, — about 40, in all." [*Ibid.* p. 94.]

¹¹² In the letter, Capt. Church repre-

run,¹¹³ who left their Canoo's and Provisions to ours;¹¹⁴ and old *Doney*,¹¹⁵ and one *Thomas Baker* an *English* Man who was a Prisoner amongst them, were up at the Falls and heard the Guns fire, expected the other *Indians* were come to their Assistance, so came down the River in a Canoo, but when they perceived that there was *English* as well as *Indians*, old *Doney* run the Canoo a shore, and ran over *Bakers* head and followed the rest, and then *Baker* came to ours; and gave an account of the Bever hid at *Pejepscot* plain: and coming to the place where the plunder was, the Major sent a Scout to *Pejepscot* Fort, to see if they could make any discovery of the Enemies Tracks, or could discover any coming up the River; who return'd and said they saw nothing but our old Tracks at said Fort, &c.¹¹⁶

sents the enemy as being all upon the other side. He says:—

"The enemy being on the other side the river, ours could not come at them: they made shot at them: killed one Dicks, a baco [Mr. Drake suggests *Abaco* (the largest of the Bahamas); but is *Sebago* (a nearer and so likelier word) impossible?] man, and got him on shore: 2 more men sank in the river: some of ours swam over the river, took their cannoos and plunder." [*Ibid.*]

¹¹³ The letter states that "at this skirmish Lt. Hunniwell was shot throw the thigh." [*Ibid.*] This was Richard Hunniwell, concerning whose famous adventures as an Indian killer, see *Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 144-148.

¹¹⁴ "There we took a pretty deale of

powder, shot and lead, and other plunder, and 8 or 9 cannoos." [*Ibid.*]

¹¹⁵ *Thomas Baker*, Folsom says (on the authority of the Scarborough records), was "an inhabitant of Scarborough, in 1681." [*Hist. Saco*, 194.] Willis [*Hist. Portland*, 286] enumerates among those taken prisoners by the Indians, at the fall of Falmouth, 20 May, 1690, "Thomas Baker (a boy)."

¹¹⁶ "The man we took from them at Salco, told us that the enemy from Cape Sables and all quarters were looked for by that time to rendezvous at *Pechepscutt*: also that he knew that the enemy had brought beaver and other goods to *Pechepscutt* Plaine, and hid them: he supposed it was a gratuity for the eastward Indians: also, that he

Now having got some Plunder,¹¹⁷ One of the Captains said it was time to go home, and several others were of the same mind; and the Major being much disturb'd at the Motion of theirs, expecting the Enemy would come in a very short time where they might have a great advantage of them, &c. Notwithstanding all he could say or do, he was oblig'd to call a Council, according to his [74] Instructions, wherein he was out-voted. The said Commander seeing he was put by of his intentions propos'd if 60 Men would stay with him he would not embark as yet; but all that he could say or do could not prevail;¹¹⁸ then they Mov'd to the Vessels and Embark'd, and as they were going in the Vessels on the back side of *Mayr-point* they discovered 8 or 9 Canoo's, who turn'd short about, and went up the River; being the same *Indians* that the Major expected, and would have waited for; and the afore said Captain being much disturb'd at what the Major had said to him, drew off from the Fleet, and in the Night run aground;¹¹⁹ in the Morning *Anthony*

himselfe knew within half a mile where it was hid. This made us alter our former intention; and took ship and failed to a place more eastward then *Macquait* (called Mare Point [the south extremity of Brunswick, Me.]) Landed our men by daylight, about 250: marched round in the woods: some upon the eastward of *Pechepscutt*." *Letter* [*Ibid.* p. 94.]

¹¹⁷ "When we got upon the Plaine we parted into 3 companies: found none of the enemy; but we found the plun-

der: of which a pretty deale of powder and shot." *Letter* [*Ibid.*]

¹¹⁸ The only paragraph in Church's letter which can be construed into any reference to this conflict between him and his subordinates is this: "Many cross things falling out to frustrate the designe, too long here to relate: but from Major Pike your honors will hear more at large." [*Ibid.* p. 97.]

¹¹⁹ The letter says:—

"As god would have it one of our vessells run aground, which we did not

*Brakit*¹²⁰ having been advis'd and directed by the *Indian* that made his escape from our Forces, came down near where the aforefaid Veffel lay a-ground, and got aboard; who has proved a good Pilot and Captain for his Country. The next day it being very calm and mifty, fo that they were all day getting down from *Maquait* to *Perpodack*; and the Masters of the Veffels thinking it not safe putting out in the Night, fo late in the Year,¹²¹ Anchor'd there at *Perpodack*; the Veffels being much crouded, the Major ordered three Companies fhould go on fhore, and no more, himfelf with Capt. *Converfe*¹²² went with them to order their lodging, and finding juft Houfing convenient for them, *viz.* Two Barns and one Houfe; fo feeing them all fettled and their Watches out, the Major and Capt. *Converfe* return'd to go aboard, and coming near where the Boat was,

underftand (being in the night) and haueing left her we foon mift her, Capt. Alden concluding ſhe had run aground. And before ſhe came clear, there eſcaped one Anthony Brackett of Caſco, who was informed by the lad that eſcaped from Amſcoggin aforeſaid, of our army: he [Brackett] made his eſcape, got into our track, and came to Macquait, hollowed to the veſſel, that heard him, and gladly took him on board." [*Ibid.* p. 93.]

¹²⁰ *Anthony Brackett, jr.* (eldeſt ſon of Anthony, note 39, *ante*), was afterwards ſerviceable as Lieut. and Capt. He finally fettled in Boſton. [Willis's *Hiſt. Portland*, 290.]

¹²¹ "Came there [to Caſco, or *Purpoduck*, oppoſite to what is now Port-

land] in the evening, being the 20th inſtant." [*Letter*, p. 94.]

¹²² *James Converſe* was ſon of James of Woburn, who was ſon of Edward, who, with wife Sarah, came in the fleet with Winthrop, 1630; he was of Woburn, freeman, 1671, rep. 1679, 1684-6, 1689, 1692, and Speaker in 1699, 1702-3. He married 1 Jan., 1669, Hannah Carter; had James, John, Elizabeth, Robert, Hannah, Joſiah, Joſiah, Patience, and Ebenezer. He was diſtinguiſhed as a Captain and Major in the Indian wars, and was mixed up with an eccleſiaſtical difficulty juſt before his death. [Savage's *Gen. Diſt.* i: 444; Mather's *Magnalia*, vii: Appendix, 16; Hutchinſon's *Hiſt. Muſs.* ii: 67, 72; *Hiſt. and Gen. Reg.* xiii: 31.]

it was pretty dark, they discovered some Men, but did not know what or who they were; the Major ordered those that were with him all to clap down and cock their Guns, and he call'd and ask'd them, Who they were? and they said, *Indians*: he ask'd them, Whose Men they were? they said Capt. *Southworth's*: he ask'd them where they intended to lodge? They said in those little Hutts that the Enemy had made when they took that Garrison. The Major told them they must not make any fires; for if they did the Enemy would be upon them before day. They laugh'd, and said, Our Major was afraid. Having given them their directions, he with Capt. *Converse* went on board the *Mary Sloop*; designing to Write home, and fend away in the Morning the two Sloops which had the Small Pox on board, &c. But before day our *Indians* began to make fires and to Sing and Dance; so the Major call'd to Capt. *Southworth* to go a-shore & look after his Men, for the Enemy would be upon them by'n'd by. He order'd the Boat to be hall'd up to carry him a-shore, and call'd Capt. *Converse* to go with him, and just as the day began to appear, as the Major was getting into the Boat to go a-shore, the Enemy fired upon our Men the *Indians*, notwithstanding that one *Philip* an *Indian* of ours, who was out upon the Watch, heard a man cough, and the sticks crack; who gave the rest an account, that he saw *Indians*; which they would not believe; but said to him, You are afraid: his answer was, that they might see them

come creppening: they laugh'd and faid, they were Hogs: Ay, (faid he) and they [75] will bite you by'nd by. So prefently they did fire upon our Men; but the Morning being mifty their Guns did not go off quick, fo that our Men had all time to fall down before their Guns went off, and faved themselves from that Volley, except one man, who was kill'd. This fudden firing upon our *Indian* Souldiers furprized them that they left their Arms, but foon recover'd them again, and got down the bank which was but low: the Major with all the Forces on board landed as faft as they could; the Enemy firing fmartly at them; however all got fafe a-shore. The Enemy had a great advantage of our Forces, who were between the Sun rifing & the Enemy, fo that if a man put up his head or hand they could fee it, and would fire at it: However fome with the Major got up the bank behind ftumps and rocks, to have the advantage of firing at the Enemy; but when the Sun was rifen the Major flip'd down the bank again where all the Forces were order'd to obferve his Motion, *viz.* That he would give three fhouts and then all of them fhould run with him up the bank: fo when he had given the third fhout, ran up the bank, and Capt. *Converfe* with him, but when the faid *Converfe* perceived that the Forces did not follow as commanded, call'd to the Major and told him the Forces did not follow; who notwithstanding the Enemy fired fmartly at, yet got fafe down the bank again, and Rallying the Forces up the bank, foon put the Enemy

to flight;¹²³ and following them so close, that they took 13 Canoo's,¹²⁴ and one Lusty Man, who had *Joseph Ramsdell's*¹²⁵ Scalp by his side, who was taken by two of our *Indians*, and having his deserts was himself Scalp'd. This being a short and smart fight, some of our Men were kill'd, and several wounded.¹²⁶ Some time after an *English* Man who

¹²³ Church's account in his letter varies a little:—

“I landed the most part of the men and went on shore and ordered them where they should lodge; but the Indians in particular I ordered to such a house, or else to goe on board again; but they, contrary to my order, took up their lodge on the river by Papooducke side, where the enemy had lately rendezvoused. All the rest of the companies and companies were where I ordered them to be. The enemy discovered the Indians fires,—came in the night and discovered where the Companies lay, and ambushed them at day-light: made a shot upon our Indians; it being the 21st instant, and the Sabbath day. Our English arose to the succour of the Indians, friends; being all ready at break of day, pr. my order, and drawing up towards them, many were wounded and slain: the enemy having great advantage of ours; for the light of the day, and stars reflecting upon the waters gave them advantage to see us, when as we could not see them at all, against the dark woods: especially we could not see to distinguish between our Indians and theirs. Whereupon I ordered to lie still under the sea banks till day-light: I coming on shore the second boat, and

see the difficulty: but the enemy fired hard upon the vessels and boats coming on shore: and when the day was light enough, I ordered the men to arise from the banks, and run all upon them at once: the which we did, and soon put them to the flight,—followed them hard through a swamp, firing briskly. They knowing where there cannoos were, got their wounded men into them before we came up, and most of them put off. Our men affirmed but two that they see killed.” [*Letter*, p. 95.]

¹²⁴ “We took 2 guns and many blankets and gun-cases, and 4 cannoos.” [*Ibid*, p. 96.]

¹²⁵ “A company of soldiers from Lynn were impressed by order of the Governor, and sent out against the Indians in the depth of winter. One of the soldiers from Lynn, Mr. Joseph Ramsdell, was killed by them at Casco Bay, in 1690.” [*Lewis's Hist. Lynn*, 177; *Newhall's Annals of Lynn*, 289.]

¹²⁶ The letter gives a more particular statement, as follows:—

“We went on board sent away two vessels with the captives and sick and wounded men, and buried our dead, which was 3 English and 4 Indians. The wounded were 17 English and 7 Indians. Them that were slain were

was Prisoner amongst them, gave an account that our Forces had kill'd and wounded severall of the Enemy, for they kill'd severall Prisoners according to their Custom &c. After this action was over our Forces imbark'd for *Piscataqua*, and the Major went to *Wells*,¹²⁷ and remov'd the Captain there, and put in Capt. *Andras*,¹²⁸ who had been with him and knew the Discourse left with the two old Squaws at *Amcra-cogen*, for *Hakins* & *Worumbo* to come there in 14 days, if they had a mind to hear of their Wives & Children: Who did then or soon after come with a Flag of Truce to saide *Wells* Garrison, and had leave to come in, and more appearing came in, to the number of Eight, (without any terms) being all Chief Sachems; and was very glad to hear of the Women and Children, viz. *Hakins* and *Worumbo's* Wives and Children; who all saide three severall times that they would never fight

chiefly Plimouth. The wounded of Capt. Counyerfe, 6; Capt. Floid, 3; Capt. Southworth, 4; Capt. Waltons, 3; of Capt. Andrews, one, (since that); one Englishman of Plimouth is dead of his wounds, and an Indian: also an Indian and Englishman both of Plimouth dead of the small-pox." [*Letter*, p. 96.]

¹²⁷ The letter particularizes:—

"We embarked and came to Cape Neddicke, the 22d day, and marched with about 200 men, (all we had fitt for service,) to Wells: Sent a scout the next day to Salco and Winter Harbour,—about 24 miles: made no discoverie of the enemy later than we were there

before. Then we returned and come to Portsmouth the 26th instant, because our doctor was gon home with the wounded men, and our men were severall of them sick and lame, and wanted shoofe and other recruits; or else we would have gon further before we had com home." [*Ibid.* p. 96.]

¹²⁸ *Elijha Andros* [*Andrews*, *Andrews*] was son of James, (who was son of Samuel, and was born probably in Saco, 1635, and who married Sarah, dau. of Michael Mitton, and Margaret —,) and survived his father, who removed to Boston and died in 1704. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* i: 53; Willis's *Hist. Portland*, 289.]

against the *English* any more, for the *French* made fools of them, &c. They saying as they did, the said *Andras* let them go. Maj *Church* being come to *Piscataqua*,¹²⁹ and two of his transports having the Small Pox on board; and several of his Men having got great Colds by their hard Service, pretended they were going to have the Small Pox, thinking by that means to be sent home speedily; the Major being willing to try them, went to the Gentlemen [76] there and desired them to provide an House, for some of his Men expected they should have the Small Pox; who readily did, and told him, That the People belonging to it was just recover'd of the Small Pox, and had been all at Meeting, &c. The Major returning to his Officers order'd them to draw out all their men that were going to have the Small Pox, for he had provided an Hospital for them: So they drew out 17 Men, that had as they said, all the symptoms of the Small Pox; he ordered them all to follow him, and coming to the House, he ask'd them, How they liked it? they said very well. Then he told them that the People in said House have all had the Small Pox, and was recovered; and that if they went in they must not come out till they all had it: Whereupon they all presently began to grow better, and to make excuses, except one Man who desired to stay out till Night before he went in, &c. The Major going to the Gentlemen, told them,

¹²⁹ The letter fixes the date of arrival:—

“And we returned to Portsmouth the

26th instant.” The letter bears date, Sept. 30, 1690, which puts the arrival, Sept. 26. [*Letter*, p. 97.]

That one thing more would work a perfect cure upon his Men, which was to let them go home: Which did work a cure upon all, except one, and he had not the Small Pox. So he ordered the Plunder should be divided forthwith, and sent away all the *Plymouth* Forces. But the Gentlemen there desired him to stay and they would be assisting to him in raising new Forces to the number of what was sent away; and that they would send to *Boston* for Provisions: which they did, and sent Capt. *Plaisted*¹³⁰ to the Governour and Council at *Boston*, &c. And in the mean time the Major with those Gentlemen went into all those Parts and raised a sufficient number of Men, both Officers & Soldiers; who all met at the bank¹³¹ on the same day that Capt. *Plaisted* return'd from *Boston*; whose return from *Boston* Gentlemen was, That the *Canada* Expedition had driven'd them so that they could do no more: So that Maj. *Church* notwithstanding he had been at considerable Expences in raising said Forces to Serve his King and Country was oblig'd to give them a Treat and dismiss them: Taking his leave of them came home to *Boston* in the *Mary Sloop* Mr. *Alden*¹³² Master, and Capt. *Converse* with him, of a Sat-

¹³⁰ Capt. *Ichabod Plaisted*, of Kittery, 1674? [*Hist. & Gen. Reg.* xv: 272.]

¹³¹ *Strawberry Bank*, i.e. Portsmouth. "Whereas the name of this plantation at present being Strawberry Banke, accidentally so called, by reason of a banke where strawberries was found in this place, now we humbly desire to have it called Portsmouth, being a name

most suitable for this place, it being the river's mouth, and good as any in this land, and your petitioners shall humbly pray." [Petition to General Court for change of name. Brewster's *Rambles about Portsmouth*, p. 23.]

¹³² Capt. *John Alden*, eldest son of Pilgrim John, was born in 1622; removed to Boston as early as December, 1659; was well known as a naval com-

urday; and waiting upon the Governour, and some of the Gentlemen in *Boston*, they look'd very strange upon them, which not only troubled them but put them into some consternation what the matter should be, that after so much toyl & hard Service could not have so much as one pleasant word, nor no Money in their Pockets; for Maj. *Church* had but *Eight Pence* left, and Capt. *Converse* none, as he said afterwards. Maj. *Church* seeing two Gentlemen which he knew had Money, ask'd them to lend him *Forty Shillings*, telling them his necessity: Yet they refused. So being bare of Money was oblig'd to lodge at Mr. *Aldens* three Nights;¹³³ and the next Tuesday Morning Capt. *Converse* came to him (not knowing each others circumstances as yet) and said he would walk with him out of Town; so coming near *Pollards* at the South End, they had some Discourse; that it was very hard that they should part with dry lips: Maj. *Church* told Capt. *Converse* that he had [77] but *Eight Pence* left, and could not borrow any Money to carry him home. And the said *Converse* said, that he had not a *Peny* left; so they were oblig'd to part without going in to *Pollards*, &c. The said Capt.

mander; was in danger in the witchcraft delusion [Winfor (*Hist. Duxbury*, 215) wrongly says it was his son John; but the documents call him "John Aldin, Senior, of Boston, Mariner,"] in 1692, and was committed to jail, but ran away, and was ultimately cleared, in 1693, "by proclamation, none appearing against him." He died in Boston, 14 March, 1702, æt. 82, leaving

upwards of £2000. [Drake's *Hist. Boston*, i: 499; Drake's *Witchcraft Delusion in New England*, iii: 26; Alden's *American Epitaphs*, iii: 266.]

¹³³ Capt. Alden lived on an alley leading from Cambridge to Sudbury Streets, from him called Alden's Lane, and, since 1846, Alden Street; now the headquarters of less useful persons. [Drake's *Hist. Boston*, i: 500.]

Converse returned back into Town, and the said *Church* went over to *Roxbury*; and at the Tavern he met with *Stephen Braton*¹³⁴ of *Rhode-Island*, a Drover; who was glad to see him the said *Church*, and he as glad to see his Neighbour: whereupon Maj. *Church* call'd for an *Eight-Peny* Tankard of drink, and let the said *Braton* know his circumstances, ask'd him whether he would lend him *Forty Shillings*? He answered, Yes: *Forty Pounds*, if he wanted it. So he thank'd him, and said, he would have but *Forty Shillings*; which he freely lent him: and presently after Major *Church* was told that his Brother *Caleb Church*¹³⁵ of *Watertown* was coming with a spare Horse for him, having heard the Night before that his Brother was come in; by which means the said Maj. *Church* got home. And for all his travel & expences in raising Souldiers, and Service done, never had but 14 *l.* of *Plymouth* Gentlemen, & not a *Peny* of *Boston*: notwithstanding he had wore out all his Clothes, and run himself in debt, so that he was oblig'd to Sell half a-share of Land in *Tiverton* for about

¹³⁴ *Stephen Brayton* was son of Francis, of Portsmouth, R.-I.; freeman, 1678; on the grand jury, 1687; married, 8 March, 1679, Ann, dau. of Peter Tolman, of Newport, and had Mary, Elizabeth, Ann, Preserved, and Stephen. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 240; R.-I. *Col. Rec.* iii: 4, 233.]

¹³⁵ *Caleb Church* appears to have been the sixth child of Richard — being the youngest son of at least nine children, as Benjamin was the oldest; admitted freeman 4 March, 1689-1690; kept a

tavern from 1686 to 1711 [see Drake's *Book of the Indians*, p. 263]; lived first in Dedham, and afterwards in Watertown; Representative, 1713; married, 16 Dec., 1667, Joanna, dau. of William Sprague, of Hingham; had eight children, viz.: Richard, Ruth, Lydia, Caleb, Joshua, Isaac, and Rebecca. The last two were twins; and, after giving them birth, their mother died, 11 July, 1678. [Bond's *Hist. Watertown*, 158; N. E. *Hist. & Gen. Reg.* xi: 154; Part I. of this edition, p. xxx.]

60*l.* which is now worth 300*l.* more and above than what he had.¹³⁶

Having not been at home long before he found out the reason why *Boston* Gentlemen look'd so disaffected on him; as you may see by the sequel of two Letters Maj. *Church* sent to the Gentlemen in the Eastward parts: which are as followeth.

Bristol, Novemb. 27. 1690.

Worthy Gentlemen,

‘ **A**CCORDING to my promise when with you last, I waited
 ‘ upon the Governour at *Boston* upon the Saturday,
 ‘ Capt. *Converse* being with me. The Governour informed
 ‘ us that the Council was to meet on the Monday follow-
 ‘ ing in the afternoon, at which time we both there waited
 ‘ upon them, and gave them an account of the State of
 ‘ your Country, and great necessities. They informed us,
 ‘ that their General Court was to Convene on the Wednes-
 ‘ day following; at which time they would debate & con-
 ‘ sider of the matter; my self being bound home, Capt.
 ‘ *Converse* was ordered to wait upon them, and bring you
 ‘ their resolves. I then took notice of the Council that

¹³⁶ It is my impression, that the good Col. Church got a little mixed in his recollections of these events, when, in his old age, he dictated this narrative. The County Records contain no trace, which I have been able to discover, of any such sale of half a share of land in Tiverton by him at this time, or for years afterward; while the fact that he was almost constantly purchasing land

— buying £170 worth within a year of this date — scarcely favors the idea of pecuniary distress. He did sell, however, in June, 1691, to Nathaniel Byfield, £50 worth of land (43 acres) on *Poppasquash* neck, in *Bristol*. He owned, at this time, largely in Tiverton, and in what is now the city of Fall River. [See Part I., *Introductory Memoir*, pp. xxix., xxx.]

‘ they look’d upon me with an ill aspect, not judging me
 ‘ worthy to receive thanks for the Service I had done in
 ‘ your parts; nor as much as ask me whether I wanted
 ‘ Money to bare my Expence, or a Horse to carry me
 ‘ home. But I was forc’d for want of Money (being far
 ‘ from friends) to go to *Roxbury* on foot; but meeting there
 ‘ with a *Rhode-Island* Gentleman, acquainted him of my
 ‘ wants, who tendered me *Ten Pounds*,¹³⁷ whereby I was
 ‘ accommodated for my Journey home: And being come
 ‘ home, I went to the Minister of our Town,¹³⁸ and gave him
 ‘ an account of the transactions of the great affairs I had
 ‘ been employ’d in, and of the great [78] favour God was
 ‘ pleas’d to shew me, and my Company, and the benefit I

¹³⁷ He doubtless refers to Mr. Brayton [note 134, *ante*], but he states the amount of the loan differently from his former account of it.

¹³⁸ *Samuel Lee* was born in London, 1625; the son of Samuel, who was a merchant of large estate; took M. A. at Oxford, 1640; had a Wadham fellowship, and, in 1656, was Proctor, and Lecturer at Great St. Helen’s, London; in 1677 was associated with Theophilus Gale, in Holborn; in 1679 was settled at Bignal, near Bicester, in Oxfordshire; was afterwards at Newington Green, near London; in the summer of 1686, he landed here; went soon to Bristol, R.-I., and became pastor of the church at its organization, 8 May, 1687; in 1691, moved by the hope of better times under William and Mary in England than he had left there, and greatly to the regret of his people and of the

ministry and churches who knew him here, he sailed for England on the *Dolphin*; was captured by a French privateer and carried into St. Malo, where he died of prison fever, leaving a wife and daughter, and was buried outside the walls as a heretic. Cotton Mather said of him, “It must be granted that hardly ever a more universally learned person trod the American strand.” He left a dozen or more volumes of printed works. While in Bristol, he lived on the east side of Thames St. (which was then the shore of the harbor), a short distance north of the “Old Walley house.” His house was afterwards the residence of Jeremiah Finney, and of his son Josiah. [Sprague’s *Annals*, i: 209; Palmer’s Calamy’s *Nonconformist’s Memorial*, i: 95; Wood’s *Ath. Oxon.* ii: 882, 883; Shepard’s *Discourses at Bristol, R.-I.*, pp. 11, 50.]

‘ hoped would accrue to your selves; and desired him to
 ‘ Return Publick Thanks: but at the same interim of time
 ‘ a Paper was presented unto him from a Court of *Ply-*
 ‘ *mouth*, which was holded before I came home,¹³⁹ to Com-
 ‘ mand a day of Humiliation thro’ the whole Government,
 ‘ because of the frowns of God upon those Forces sent
 ‘ under my Command, and the ill success we had, for want
 ‘ of good conduct. All which was caused by those false
 ‘ Reports which were posted home by those ill affected
 ‘ Officers that were under my Conduct; especially one
 ‘ which your selves very well know,¹⁴⁰ who had the advan-
 ‘ tage of being at home a Week before me, being sick of
 ‘ Aëtion, and wanting the advantage to be at the Bank,¹⁴¹
 ‘ which he every day was mindful of more than fighting the
 ‘ Enemy in their own Country. After I came home, being
 ‘ inform’d of a General Court at *Plymouth*,¹⁴² and not forget-
 ‘ ting my faithful Promise to you, and the duty I lay under,
 ‘ I went thither, where waiting upon them, I gave them an
 ‘ account of my Eastward transactions, and made them
 ‘ sensible of the falseness of those reports that were posted
 ‘ to them by ill hands, and found some small favourable
 ‘ acceptance with them, so far that I was credited. I pre-
 ‘ sented your Thanks to them for their seasonable sending

¹³⁹ I find no record of this court, or of any such appointment of a day of humiliation. “A publique day of humiliation and fast” was appointed at the December court, to be held on the “second Wednesday of January next.”

¹⁴⁰ Doubtless the “Captain” before

referred to [p. 59] as having “said it was time to go home;” but I have not been able to identify him.

¹⁴¹ *Strawberry Bank*.

¹⁴² Held 4 Nov., 1690. See record of some things done then on the next page (note 143). [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 252.]

‘those Forces to relieve you, with that expence and
 ‘charge they had been at; which Thanks they gratefully
 ‘received; and said a few Lines from your selves would
 ‘have been well accepted. I then gave them an account
 ‘of your great necessities by being imprisoned in your
 ‘Garrisons, and the great mischief that would attend the
 ‘Publick concerns of this Country by the loss of their
 ‘Majesty’s Interest, and so much good Estate of yours &
 ‘your Neighbours, as doubtless would be on the deserting
 ‘of your Town. I then moved for a free Contribution for
 ‘your relief, which they with great forwardness promoted;
 ‘and then ordered a day of Thanksgiving thro’ the Govern-
 ‘ment upon the 26th. day of this Instant. Upon which
 ‘day a Collection was ordered for your relief (and the
 ‘Places near Adjacent) in every respective Town in this
 ‘Government; and for the good management of it that it
 ‘might be safely convey’d unto your hands, they appointed
 ‘a Man in each County for the reception & conveyance
 ‘thereof.¹⁴³ The persons nominated and accepted thereof,
 ‘are: For the County of *Plymouth*, Capt. *Nathanael Thomas*
 ‘of *Marshfield*:¹⁴⁴ For the County of *Barnstable*, Capt.

¹⁴³ The record is as follows: —

“Cap^t Nath^l Thomas appointed in y^e county of Plimouth to receive & take care for conveyance of the contribution proposed for the relief of y^e town of Wells & parts adjacent.

“Cap^t Joseph Lothrop, y^e like for y^e county of Barnstable, & Major Benjamin Church for y^e county of Bristol.

“The Court apoint the 26th instant to

be kept and observed as a publick day of thanksgiving throughout y^e colony.”
 [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 255.]

¹⁴⁴ *Nathaniel Thomas* was son of Nathaniel of Marshfield; was born 1643; married, 19 Jan., 1664, Deborah, dau. of Nicholas Jacobs, of Hingham; had Nathaniel, Joseph, Deborah, Dorothy, William, Eliza, Joshua, Caleb, Isaac, and Mary; 3 Nov., 1696, he married

‘*Joseph Lathrop of Barnstable*:¹⁴⁵ And for the County of
 ‘*Bristol*, my self. Which when gathered you will have a
 ‘particular account from each person, with orders of advice
 ‘how it may be disposed of for your best advantage, with a
 ‘Copy of the Courts order. The Gentlemen the effects
 ‘are to be sent to are your selves that I now Write to, *viz.*
 ‘*John Wheelwright Esq*; ¹⁴⁶ *Capt. John Littlefield*,¹⁴⁷ and
 ‘*Lieut. Joseph Story*.¹⁴⁸ I defer’d writing expecting every
 ‘day to hear from you concerning the *Indians* coming to
 ‘treat about their Prisoners that we [79] had taken. The
 ‘discourse I made with them at *Ameras-cogen*, I knew
 ‘would have that Effect as to bring them to a treaty, which
 ‘I should have thought my self happy to have been im-
 ‘proved in, knowing that it would have made much for
 ‘your good. But no intelligence coming to me from any

Elizabeth, widow of Captain William Condry; he was Representative 1672, and seven years more, and also at Boston under the new charter; served in Philip’s War; died 22 Oct., 1718. [Savage’s *Gen. Dict.* iv: 281; Thomas’s *Memorials of Marshfield*, p. 54.]

¹⁴⁵ *Joseph Lothrop* was third son of Rev. John, of Barnstable; born in England; married 11 Dec., 1650, Mary Ansell; licensed to keep an ordinary, 1653; ranked as Lieut., 1670; was Deputy from, and Selectman at, Barnstable for various years, and was of the Council of War; had Joseph, Mary, Benjamin, Elizabeth, John, Samuel, John, Barnabas, Hope, Thomas, and Hannah. [Savage’s *Gen. Dict.* iii: 120; Freeman’s *Hist. Cape Cod*, ii: 262, 271;

Plym. Col. Rec. vi: 10, 67, 85, 106, 128, 169, 240, 251.]

¹⁴⁶ *John Wheelwright* was probably son of Samuel, of Wells; was Colonel and Deputy, and “a gentleman of a character above suspicion”; died 1745. Little seems to be known of him that can be accurately stated. [Savage’s *Gen. Dict.* iv: 503; Allen’s *Biog. Dict.* p. 846.]

¹⁴⁷ *John Littlefield* was son of Edmund, of Exeter and Wells; was at Wells, 1656; Constable, 1661; Lieut., 1668; had a dau. Mary, who married Matthew Austin. [Savage’s *Gen. Dict.* iii: 100.]

¹⁴⁸ Was he son of William, of Dover, 1637–1658? (*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* viii: 130.)

‘Gentlemen in your parts, and hearing nothing but by
 ‘accident, and that in the latter end of the week by some
 ‘of ours coming from *Boston*, informed me that the *Indians*
 ‘were come in to your Town to seek for Peace; and that
 ‘there was to be a treaty speedily;¹⁴⁹ but the time they
 ‘knew not. I took my Horfe, and upon the Monday set out
 ‘for *Boston*, expecting the treaty had been at your Town,
 ‘as rationally it should but on Tuesday Night coming to
 ‘*Boston*, there met with Capt. *Elisha Andros*,¹⁵⁰ who in-
 ‘formed me that the Place of treaty was *Sacaty-hock*,¹⁵¹ and
 ‘that Capt *Alden* was gone from *Boston* four days before I
 ‘came there, and had carryed all the *Indian* Prisoners
 ‘with him, and that all the Forces were drawn away out
 ‘of your parts, except 12 men in your Town, and 12 in
 ‘*Piscataqua*, which news did so amuse me, to see that wis-
 ‘dom was so taken from the wise, and such imprudence in
 ‘their actions, as to be deluded by *Indians*; and to have a
 ‘treaty so far from any *English* Town, and to draw off the
 ‘Forces upon what pretence soever, to me looks very ill.
 ‘My fear is that they will deliver those we have taken,
 ‘which if kept would have been greatly for your Security,
 ‘it keeping them in awe, and preventing them from doing
 ‘any hostile action or mischief, I knowing that the *English*
 ‘being a broad are very earnest to go home, and the *In-*
 ‘*dians* are very tedious in their discourses, and by that
 ‘will have an advantage to have their Captives at a very

¹⁴⁹ See Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 626.

¹⁵⁰ See note 128, *ante*.

¹⁵¹ *Sagadahoc*, the site of Popham's convict-colony, of 1607.

' low rate to your great damage. *Gentlemen*, as to *Rhode-*
 ' *Island*, I have not concern'd my self as to any relief for
 ' you, having nothing in writing to shew to them, yet upon
 ' discourse with some Gentlemen there, they have signified
 ' a great forwardness to promote such a thing. I lying
 ' under great reflections from some of yours in the East-
 ' ward parts, that I was a very Covetous Person, and came
 ' there to enrich my self, and that I kill'd their Cattel and
 ' Barrel'd them up and sent them to *Boston*, and Sold them
 ' for Plunder, and made Money to put into my own Pocket;
 ' and the owners of them being poor People beg'd for the
 ' Hides and Tallow, with tears in their eyes; and that I
 ' was so cruel as to deny them; which makes me judge
 ' my self incapable to Serve you in that matter: yet I do
 ' assure you that the People are very charitable at the *I/-*
 ' *land*, and forward in such good actions, and therefore advise
 ' you to desire some good substantial Person to take the man-
 ' agement of it, and write to the Government there, which I
 ' know will not be labour lost.¹⁵² As for what I am accused
 ' of, you all can witness to the contrary, and I should take it
 ' very kindly from you to do me that just right, as to vindi-
 ' cate my Reputation; for the wise man says, *A good Name*
 ' *is as precious Oylment*. When I hear of the effect of the

¹⁵² Williamson says Church "mag-
 nanimously collected a considerable con-
 tribution in Plymouth Colony, which he
 transmitted to the Eastern Provinces,
 accompanied by an address to Major
 Frost, John Wheelwright, Esq., and

others, encouraging their expectations
 of still further relief." [*Hist. Me.* i:
 626.] If his authority is this letter of
 Church, — and I know of no other on
 which he could have relied, — he over-
 states the facts.

‘Treaty, and have an account [80] of this Contribution, I
 ‘intend again to Write to you, being very desirous, &
 ‘should think my self very happy, to be favoured with a
 ‘few lines from your selves, or any Gentlemen in the East-
 ‘ward parts. Thus leaving you to the protection & gui-
 ‘dance of the Great God of Heaven and Earth, who is able
 ‘to protect and supply you in your great difficulties, and to
 ‘give you deliverance in His own due time.

I Remain, Gentlemen,

Your most assured Friend to Serve you to my utmost power,
 Benjamin Church.

Postscript.

‘Esq; *Wheelwright*, Sir, I intreat you, after your perusal
 ‘of these lines, to communicate the same to Capt. *John*
 ‘*Littlefield*, Lieut. *Joseph Story*; and to any other Gentle-
 ‘men, as in your judgment you see fit: With the tenders of
 ‘my respects to you, &c. and to Maj. *Vaughan*,¹⁵³ and his
 ‘good Lady & Family. To Capt. *Fryer*¹⁵⁴ & good Mrs.
 ‘*Fryer*, with hearty thanks for their kindness whilst in those
 ‘parts, and good Entertainment from them. My kind Re-

¹⁵³ *William Vaughan* was born probably in Wales; lived in Portsmouth; freeman, 1669; 1672 was Lieut. of cavalry under Capt. Robert Pike; Counsellor of Province of N. H. and Chief-Justice of Sup. Court; died 1719. He married 8 Dec., 1668, Margaret, dau. of Richard Cutt; had Eleanor, Mary, Cutt, George, Bridget, Margaret, Abi-

gail, and Elizabeth. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 368.]

¹⁵⁴ *Nathaniel Fryer* was of Boston, where he had, by wife Christian, James, Sarah, and Elizabeth; removed to Portsmouth; married, as second wife, Dorothy Woodbridge; Deputy, 1666; Captain and Counsellor, 1683; died 13 Aug., 1705. [*Ibid.* ii: 214.]

‘ respects to Maj. *Frost*,¹⁵⁵ Capt. *Walton*,¹⁵⁶ Lieut. *Honeywel*,¹⁵⁷
 ‘ and my very good friend little Lieut. *Plaisted*:¹⁵⁸ with due
 ‘ respects to all Gentlemen my friends in the Eastward
 ‘ parts, as if particularly named. Farewell. B. C.

Bristol, Novemb. 27. 1690.

*To Major Pike.*¹⁵⁹ *Honoured Sir,*

T*Hese come to wait upon you, to bring the tenders of my
 hearty Service to your Self & Lady, with due ac-
 knowledgment of thankfulness for all the kindness and
 favour I received from you in the Eastward parts, when
 with you. Since I came from those parts, I am informed
 by Capt. Andros, that your Self, and most of all the Forces
 are drawn off from the Eastward parts; I admire at it,
 considering that they had so low Esteem of what was done,
 that they can apprehend the Eastward parts so safe before
 the Enemy was brought into better Subjection. I was in*

¹⁵⁵ *Charles Frost*, born in Tiverton, Eng., 1632; came over with his father Nicholas about 1637; Deputy, 1658-61; Counsellor, 1693; Captain and Major, commanding the Yorkshire militia; was Judge of the Common Pleas when he was shot by the Indians, 14 July, 1697, *at. 65*. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 210; *Williamson's Hist. Me.* i: 674; *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* iii: 249-262.]

¹⁵⁶ See note 97, *ante*.

¹⁵⁷ *Richard Hunniwell* was son of Roger, who lived on Parker's neck, near the entrance to the Pool, Saco; was of Black Point, 1681; Ensign, 1680; Lieut., 1689; was put by Church in

charge of the Blue Point, Black Point, and Spurwink garrisons, in the winter of 1689 [see note 61, *ante*]; earned the soubriquet of "the Indian killer"; and was himself murdered by the savages, with circumstances of great atrocity, 6 Oct., 1703 [*Savage* says 1703, *Southgate's Hist. Scarborough* says 1713]. He married Sarah, dau. of Nathaniel Adams (see note 113, *ante*). [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 499; *Folsom's Hist. Saco*, p. 182; *N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* iii: 25; *Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 144-48.]

¹⁵⁸ See note 130, *ante*.

¹⁵⁹ See note 90, *ante*.

hopes when I came from thence, that those that were so desirous to have my room, would have been very brisk in my absence to have got themselves some Honour, which they very much gapped after, or else they would not have spread so many false reports to defame me. Which had I known before, I left the Bank, I would have had satisfaction of them. Your Honour was pleased to give me some small account before I left the Bank, of some things that were ill resented to you, concerning that Eastward Expedition, which being rowled home like a Snow-ball thro' both Colonies, was got to such a bigness that it over-shadow'd me from the Influence of all comfort, or good acceptance amongst my friends in my Journey homeward. But thro' Gods goodness am come home finding all well, and my self in good Health, hoping that those Reports will do me that favour, to quit me from all other Publick Action: That so I may the more peaceably & quietly wait upon God, and be a comfort unto my own Family in this dark time of trouble, being as on that is¹⁶⁰ hid, till His Indignation is over past: I shall take it as a great favour to hear of your Honours well-fare.

Subscribing my self as I am, Sir,

Your most assured Friend and Servant.

Benjamin Church. [81]

Major Church did receive after this, Answers to his Letters, but hath lost them, except it be a Letter from several of the Gentlemen in those parts in June following: which is as followeth.

¹⁶⁰ Southwick's edition omits "that is."

Portsmouth June 29 1691.

Major Benj. Church. Sir,

YOur former readiness to expose your self in the Service of the Country against the Common Enemy; and particularly the late Obligations¹⁶¹ you have laid upon us in these Eastern parts, leaves us under a deep & grateful sense of your favour therein: And forasmuch as you were pleased when last here, to signifie your ready inclination to further Service of this kind, if occasion should call for it; We therefore presume confidently to promise our selves compliance accordingly; and have sent this Messenger on purpose to you, to let you know that notwithstanding the late overture of Peace the Enemy have approved themselves as perfidious as ever, and are almost daily killing and destroying upon all our Frontiers; The Governour & Council of the Massachusetts have been pleased to Order the Raising of 150 Men to be forthwith dispatch'd into these parts; and as we understand have Writ to your Governour & Council of Plymouth for further Assistance, which we pray you to promote, hoping if you can obtain about 200 Men English & Indians, to visit them at some of their Head-quarters up Kenebeck River, or else-where, which (for want of necessaries) was omitted last Year, it may be of great advantage to us: We offer nothing of advice as to what Methods are most proper to be taken in this affair, your acquaintance with our Circum-

¹⁶¹ This perhaps refers to the contributions, which had before this reached them, from the committee of which Church was a member.

stances as well as the Enemies, will direct you therein, We leave the Conduct thereof to your own discretion: But that the want of Provision, &c. may be no Remora to your Motion, you may please to know Mr. Geafford¹⁶² One of our principal Inhabitants now residing in Boston, hath promised to take care to supply to the value of two or three hundred Pounds, if occasion require: We pray a few lines by the bearer to give us a prospect of what we may expect for our further Encouragement, and remain,

Sir, Your Obliged Friends and Servants,

Will. Vaughan Charles Froft William Fernald¹⁶⁶
 Francis Hooke¹⁶³ Nathanael Fryer Robert Elliott.¹⁶⁷
 Richard Martyn¹⁶⁴ John Wincol¹⁶⁵

A True Copy of the Original Letter; which Letter was presented to me by Capt. Hatch,¹⁶⁸ who came Express.

¹⁶² I find no trace of this man, unless he were William Gifford, who was a bricklayer, admitted to inhabit at Boston 28 Feb., 1654. [Drake's *Hist.*

¹⁶³ *Francis Hooke* was son of Humphrey, Alderman of the city of Bristol, Eng.; lived at Kittery, Me.; was Magistrate, 1666; Captain; Treafurer of

¹⁶⁴ *Richard Martin (Martins)* was at Portsmouth, N.H.; was made "over-fer" of John Cutt's will, 6 May, 1680; had the first place in "the front seat

¹⁶⁵ *John Wincol (Wincoln, Wincall, Winkell, Winkle)* was son of Thomas, of Watertown; freeman there 6 May, 1646; selectman, 1649, 56, 61, 62; Depu-

¹⁶⁶ *William Fernald* was eldest son of Reginald (or, as he himself, at least, sometimes wrote it, Renald), who was the first surgeon among the New-Hamp-

¹⁶⁷ *Robert Eliot (Eliott, Elliot, Elliott)* seems to have been of Portsmouth, 1660; of Casco, before 1670; of Scarborough soon after, where he was

¹⁶⁸ *Philip Hatch*, who was freeman, 1652, York, Me., or one of his sons? [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 375.]

Maj. *Church* sent them his Answer: the Contents whereof was, That he had gone often enough for nothing; and especially to be ill treated with scandals and false Reports, when last out, which he could not forget. And signified to them, That doubtless some amongst them thought they could do without him, &c. And to make short of it, did go out, and meeting with the Enemy at *Maquait*, were most shamefully beaten: as I have been inform'd.¹⁶⁹

Boston, i: 334.] There was time enough for him to grow to be a "principal in-

Province of Maine under Pres. Danforth, 1680; of the Council, 1684, and again, under the new charter, 1693; died 10 Jan., 1695, "much lamented."

before the minister" in "feating the meeting-house" (he being chairman of the committee to do that work), 3 April, 1693. Was he Richard, whose son

ty, 1658; soon moved to Piscataqua, and then to Kittery (at *Newichawannock*, or So. Berwick); came thence Deputy to Boston, 1675, 7, 8; during 1676-85 was connected with the government as Councillor and otherwise; fought the

shire settlers. He resided at Kittery; and, in 1688, deeded to his sister Sarah, then the wife of Richard Waterhouse,

Selectman, 1682, and Deputy, 1685; Counsellor, 1688, when he lived at Portsmouth. He died in 1720, leaving his estates in Scarborough to his son-in-

habitant" by 1690, as many another had done in less time.

He married Mary (Maverick), widow of John Palgrave, and dau. of Samuel Maverick, of Noddle's Island. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 457.]

Richard, Coffin says, was born 8 Jan., 1674? [*Brewster's Rambles about Portsmouth*, 36, 63; Coffin's *Hist. Newbury*, 309.]

Indians bravely at Saco, in 1675; had wife Elizabeth; and died, by a fall from his horse, 22 Oct., 1694. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 592; Bond's *Hist. Watertown*, 654; Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 349, 524, 565, 566.]

of Portsmouth, tanner, what is now Pierce's Island, and One Tree Island. [*Brewster's Rambles, &c.* 370.]

law, Col. Geo. Vaughan. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 111; Willis's *Hist. Portland*, 139; *Brewster's Rambles, &c.* 25; *Me. Hist. Coll.* iii: 210.]

¹⁶⁹ Cotton Mather makes the following statement in regard to this expedition here referred to: —

"About the latter end of *July* we sent out a small Army under the Command of Captain *March*, Captain *King*, Cap-

[82] The Third Expedition, East.

THIS was in the Year 1692. In the time of Sir *William Phipp*'s¹⁷⁰ Government: Major *Walley*¹⁷¹ being at

tain *Sherburn*, and Captain *Wallen* (*Convers* lying *Sick* all Summer had this to make him yet more *Sick* that he could have no part in these Actions) who landing at *Macquoit*, marched up to *Pechyfcot*, but not finding any signs of the enemy, *marched down again*. While the *Commanders* were waiting *Ashore* till the *Soldiers* were got *aboard*, such great Numbers of *Indians* poured in upon them, that tho' the *Commanders* wanted not for Courage or Conduct, yet they found themselves obliged, with much ado, (and not without the Death of worthy Captain *Sherburn*) to retire into the Vessels which then lay aground. Here they kept pelting at one another all Night; but unto little other purpose than *this*, which was indeed Remarkable, That the Enemy was at this time *going to take* the Isle of *Shoales*, and no doubt had they *gone* they would have *taken* it, but having exhausted all their Ammunition on this Occasion, they desisted from what they designed." [*Magnalia*, Book VII: 77.]

¹⁷⁰ Sir *William Phipps* (*Phipps*) was son of James, gunsmith, from Bristol, Eng.; was born at what is now Phippsburg, Me.; became a ship-carpenter; married Mary, widow of John Hull (not the mint-master); with her money set up a shipyard at Sheepscot, and then in Boston when "driven in" by Indian hostilities; thence went to sea, 1677; at the

Bahamas heard of the wreck of a Spanish treasure-laden galleon, and went to England and offered his services to the king to recover the gold; his project was approved, and he went to the spot with two frigates in 1683; failed for want of proper instruments; returned to England, and persuaded Monk, Duke of Albemarle, to furnish him for the work again; went back, fished up £300,000, of which £16,000 fell to him, and he was knighted by James II., 28 June, 1687; Andros made him Sheriff of New England; joined Second Church, 8 March, 1690; May, 1690, conducted the attack on Nova Scotia; was chosen Assistant, projected the silly expedition, in the August following, against Quebec; went to London, 1691, was appointed Governor on Increase Mather's recommendation; arrived back 14 May, 1692; sanctioned the witchcraft delusion in 1693, flogged Collector William Brenton, and, 1694, caned Capt. Short of the Nonfuch Frigate, and, through the trouble thence arising, was recalled to London, where he died 18 Feb., 1695, and was buried in St. Mary, Woolnoth, in Lombard St., where John Newton lies. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iii: 420; Palfrey's *Hist. N. E.* iii: 590; Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* ii: 76; Sparks's *Amer. Biog.* vii: 5-102; Mather's *Magnalia*, Book II: 15-75.]

¹⁷¹ See note 24, ante.

Boston, was requested by his Excellency to treat with Maj. *Church* about going East with him. Maj. *Walley* coming home, did as desired; and to incourage the said Maj. *Church*, told him, That now was the time to have recompence for his former great Expences; saying also, That the Country could not give him less than Two or three hundred Pounds. So upon his Excellency's request Maj. *Church* went down to *Boston*, and waited upon him; who said he was glad to see him, &c. And after some discourse told the said *Church*, That he was going East himself, and that he should be his Second, and in his absence Command all the Forces: And being requested by his Excellency to raise what Volunteers of his old Souldiers in the County of *Bristol*, both *English* & *Indians*. Receiving his Commission: which is as followeth.

SIR William Phips Knight, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over their Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England.

To Benjamin Church Gent. Greeting.

‘ **R**eposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loy-
 ‘ alty, Courage and good Conduct. I do by these
 ‘ presents Constitute & Appoint You to be Major of the
 ‘ several Companies of Militia, detached for their Majesty’s
 ‘ Service against their *French* and *Indian* Enemies. You
 ‘ are therefore Authorized and Required in their Majesty’s
 ‘ Names, to discharge the duty of a Major, by Leading
 ‘ Ordering and Exercising the said several Companies in

‘ Arms, both Inferiour Officers & Souldiers, keeping them
 ‘ in good Order & Discipline, Commanding them to Obey
 ‘ you as their Major: And diligently to intend the said
 ‘ Service, for the profecuting, purfuing, killing and destroy-
 ‘ ing of the said Common Enemy. And your felf to ob-
 ‘ ferve and follow fuch Orders & Directions as you fhall
 ‘ from time to time Receive from my Self, according to
 ‘ the Rules & Discipline of War, purfuant to the Truft
 ‘ repofed in you for their Majefty’s Service. Given under
 ‘ my Hand and Seal at *Bofton*, the Twenty-fifth day of
 ‘ *July* 1692. In the Fourth Year of the Reign of our
 ‘ Sovereign Lord & Lady *William* and *Mary*, by the
 ‘ Grace of GOD King & Queen of *England*, *Scotland*,
 ‘ *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

By his Excellency’s Command,
Ifaac Addington, Secr.

Returning home to the County aforefaid, he foon raifed a fufficient Number of Volunteers both *English & Indians* and Officers fuitable to Command them, March’d them down to *Bofton*. But there was one thing I would [83] juft mention; which was, That Maj *Church* being fhort of Money, was forc’d to borrow Six Pounds in Money of Lieut. *Woodman*¹⁷² in *Little Compton*, to diftribute by a

¹⁷² *John Woodman*, of Little Compton, perhaps fon of John, a prominent citizen of Newport; Church bought land of him, 30 Oct., 1702; and his

oldeft fon, Thomas, married Woodman’s fecond daughter, Edith. [*R.-I. Col. Rec.* iii: 106, 150, 168, 185, 231; Part I. of this work, pp. xxxiii. xlv.]

Shilling, and a Bit¹⁷³ at a time to the *Indian* Souldiers; who without such Allurements would not have March'd to *Boston*. This Money Major *Church* put into the hands of Mr. *William Fobes*,¹⁷⁴ who was going out their Commissary in that Service, who was order'd to keep a just accompt of what each *Indian* had that so it might be subducted out of their wages at their return home. Coming to *Boston*, his Excellency having got things in a readines, they Embark'd on board their transports, his Excellency going in Person with them, being bound to *Pemaquid*:¹⁷⁵ But in their way stop'd at *Casco*, and buried the bones of the dead People there,¹⁷⁶ and took off the great Guns that were there; then went to *Pemaquid*:¹⁷⁷ Coming there his Excellency ask'd Maj. *Church* to go a-shore & give his judgment about Erecting a Fort there? He answer'd, That his Gen-

¹⁷³ "Bitt, a piece of silver in *Barbadoes* current at seven pence half-penny. [Bailey.] The name was applied later, especially at the South, to the *ninepence*, or one-eighth of a dollar. [Bartlett's *Dictionary of Americanisms*, 33.] Mr. Drake says it was *sixpence*. [Church, (ed. 1827,) 209.]

¹⁷⁴ See note 242, Part I.

¹⁷⁵ "*Pemaquid*, like *Acadia*, appears to have been of indefinite extent; but under this general name there seems to have been embraced, at a later date, *Monhegan*, and its companion, the islet of *Monanis*, the cluster of the *Damariscove* islands, and territory somewhat beyond the limits of the peninsula of *Pemaquid* proper." [Me. Hist. Coll. v: 181.] "The river of *Pemaquid* is ten

miles east of *Damariscotta*. There is a large bay through which we pass to enter *Pemaquid* harbor or river. The bay is full of islands, the greater part of which are settled. The fort, called Fort George, was on a point at the mouth of the river, and on the east side of it. The remains of the fortrefs are there at this day (1795)." [Sullivan's *Hist. Dist. Me.* 35.]

¹⁷⁶ That is the bones of those — over 100 persons — who had been destroyed there by the savages under the *Sieur Hertel*, 17 May, 1690. [Holmes's *Annals*, i: 431; Belknap's *Hist. N. Hamp.* i: 257-9; Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* i: 353.]

¹⁷⁷ This was early in August, 1692. [Me. Hist. Coll. v: 282.]

ius did not incline that way, for he never had any value for them, being only Nefts for Deſtructions:¹⁷⁸ His Excellency ſaid, He had a ſpecial Order from their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary* to Erect a Fort there, &c. Then they went a-ſhore and ſpent ſome time in the projection thereof.¹⁷⁹ Then his Excellency told Maj. *Church* that he might take all the Forces with him, except one Company to ſtay with him and work about the Fort; the Major answered that if his Excellency pleaſ'd he might keep two Companies with him, and he would go with the reſt to *Penobſcot*, and Places Adjacent. Which his Excellency did, and gave Maj. *Church* his Orders: which are as followeth.

¹⁷⁸ Recall Church's previously expreſſed opinions in regard to the forts at *Mount Hope* and *Pocaſſet*. [pp. 25, 47, Part I.]

¹⁷⁹ This fort was built of over 2000 cartloads of ſtone, in a quadrangular figure, 737 feet in circumference outside the outer wall, and 108 feet ſquare within the inner walls. The ſouthern wall, fronting the ſea, was 22 feet high, and more than 6 feet thick at the ports, which were 8 feet from the ground. The great flanker or round tower at the weſt end of the ſouthern wall was 20 feet high; the wall on the eaſt line 12 feet high; that on the north 10 feet, and on the weſt 18. It had 28 ports,

and 18 guns mounted, fix of which were eighteen-pounders. The ſtructure flood back 20 rods from high-water mark, and was gariſoned by 60 and ſometimes 100 men. [*Magnalia*, Book VII: 81; *Me. Hiſt. Coll.* v: 282.] This fort was not intended to operate againſt Indians merely, but againſt piratical rovers who infeſted the ſea, and againſt the French, who intended repoſſeſſion. That which Maj. Andros had built in 1677, and which the Indians took in 1690, was a mere ſtockade; “un Fort, qui n'étoit à la vérité que de pieux, mais aſſez regulierement conſtruit.” [*Charlevoix, Nouv. France*, i: 557.]

By his Excellency Sir William Phips Knight, Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England, &c. Instructions for Major Benjamin Church.

‘**W**Hereas you are Major and so Chief Officer of a
 ‘body of Men detached out of the Militia appointed
 ‘for an Expedition against the *French & Indian* Enemy;
 ‘you are duely to observe the following Instructions.

‘*Impri.* You are to take care that the Worship of God
 ‘be duely & constantly maintained and kept up amongst
 ‘you, and to suffer no Swearing, Curfing, or other pro-
 ‘phanation of the Holy Name of God; and as much as in
 ‘you lyes to deter and hinder all other Vice amongst your
 ‘Souldiers.

‘*2ly.* You are to proceed with the Souldiers under your
 ‘Command to *Penobscot*, and with what privacy & undif-
 ‘coverable Methods you can, there to Land your men,
 ‘and take the best measures to surprize the Enemy.

‘*3ly.* You are by killing, destroying, and all other means
 ‘possible to endeavour the destruction of the Enemy in
 ‘pursuance whereof, being satisfied of your Courage &
 ‘Conduct, I leave the same to your discretion.

‘*4ly.* You are to endeavour the taking what Captives
 ‘you can either Men, Women or Children, and the same
 ‘safely to keep and convey them unto, me. [84]

‘*5ly.* Since it is not possible to judge how affairs may
 ‘be circumstanced with you there, I shall therefore not

‘limit your return, but leave it to your Prudence, only
 ‘that you make no longer stay than you can improve for
 ‘advantage against the Enemy, or may reasonably hope
 ‘for the same.

‘6/y. You are also to take care and be very industrious
 ‘by all possible means to find out and destroy all the Ene-
 ‘mies Corn, and other Provisions in all Places where you
 ‘can come at the same.

‘7/y. You are at your return from *Penobscot* and those
 ‘Eastern Parts, to make all dispatch hence for *Kenebeck*
 ‘River, and the Places Adjacent, and there prosecute all
 ‘advantages against the Enemy as aforesaid.

‘8/y. If any Souldier, Officer or other shall be disobedi-
 ‘ent to you as their Commander in Chief, or other their
 ‘Superiour Officer, or make or cause any Mutiny, commit
 ‘other offence or disorders, you shall call a Council of
 ‘War amongst your Officers, and having tryed him or
 ‘them so offending, inflict such punishment as the merit
 ‘of the offence requires, Death only excepted, which if
 ‘any shall deserve, you are to secure the person, and sig-
 ‘nify the Crime unto me by the first opportunity.

Given under my hand this 11th day of August, 1692.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then the Major and his Forces embark’d and made the best of their way to *Penobscot*; and coming to an Island in those Parts¹⁸⁰ in the evening, landed his Forces at one end

¹⁸⁰ *Seven Hundred Acre Island.* [Williamson’s *Hist. Me.* i: 71, 636.]

of the said Island: Then the Major took part of his Forces and mov'd toward Day to the other end of the said Island, where they found two *French Men*, and their Families in their houses; and that one or both of them had *Indian Women* to their Wives, and had Children by them. The Major presently examining the *French men*, Where the *Indians* were? They told him, That there was a great company of them upon an Island just by:¹⁸¹ and showing him the Island, presently discover'd several of them. Maj. Church and his Forces still keeping undiscover'd to them, ask'd the *French men* where their passing Place was? Which they readily shew'd him; so presently placed an Ambascade to take any that should come over. Then sent orders for all the rest of the Forces to come; sending them an account what he had seen & met withal; strictly charging them to keep themselves undiscovered by the Enemy. The Ambascade did not lye long before an *Indian Man* and a Woman came over in a Canoo to the Place for landing, where the Ambascade was laid: who haul'd up their Canoo, and came right into the hands of our Ambascade, who so suddenly surprized them that they could not give any notice to the others from whence they came; the Major ordering that none of his should offer to meddle with the Canoo, lest they should be discovered, hoping to take the most of them if his Forces came as order'd, he expecting them to come as directed. But the first news he had of them was, That they were all coming,

¹⁸¹ Long Island. [*Ibid.* 636.]

tho' not privately [85] as ordered; but in the Veffels fair in fight of the Enemy, which foon put them all to flight; and our Forces not having Boats fuitable to purfue them, they got all away in their Canoo's, &c. (which caufed Maj *Church* to fay, He would never go out again without fufficient number of Whale-boats) which for want of, was the ruine of that action. Then Maj. *Church* according to his inftructions rang'd all thofe parts, to find all their Corn, and carried aboard their Veffels what he thought convenient, and deftroy'd the reft. Alfo finding confiderable quantities of Plunder, viz Bever & Moose skins, &c. Having done what Service they could in thofe parts,¹⁸² he returned back to his Excellency at *Pemeguid*;¹⁸³ where being come, ftaid not long: they being fhort of Bread, his Excellency intended home for *Boston*, for more Provisions; but before, going with Maj. *Church* & his Forces to *Kenebeck* River, and coming there, gave him his further Orders; which are as followeth.

By his Excellency the Governour.

To Major Benjamin Church.

‘YOU having already received former Inftructions, are
 ‘ now further to proceed with the Souldiers under
 ‘ your Command for *Kenebeck* River, and the Places Adja-

¹⁸² Mather fays he “took five Indians” here; Hutchinson fays “three or four.” It is certain that he took but few. [*Magnalia*, Book VII: 81; Hutchinson’s *Hift. Mafs.* ii: 69.]

¹⁸³ His inftructions were to “make all difpatch” thence “for *Kenebeck* River”; but in doing fo he muft naturally touch at *Pemaguid*, which lay between.

‘cent, and use your utmost indeavours to kill, destroy and
 ‘take Captive the *French & Indian* Enemy wheresoever
 ‘you shall find any of them; and at your return to *Peme-*
 ‘*quid* (which you are to do as soon as you can conveni-
 ‘ently; after your best indeavour done against the Enemy,
 ‘and having destroyed their Corn and other Provisions)
 ‘you are to stay with all your Souldiers and Officers, and
 ‘set them to work on the Fort, and make what dispatch
 ‘you can in that business, staying there until my further
 ‘order.

WILLIAM PHIPS.

Then his Excellency taking leave went for *Boston*; ¹⁸⁴
 and soon after Maj. *Church* and his Forces had a smart
 fight with the Enemy in *Kenebeck*-River, Pursued them so
 hard that they left their Canoo’s & ran up into the woods,
 still pursued them up to their Fort at *Taconock*, ¹⁸⁵ which

¹⁸⁴ The witch trials were in progress in Boston during his absence, and it is not unlikely that it was while he was gone on this business that the incident occurred, which Hutchinson mentions, on the authority of a *MS.* letter; that Mrs. Phips, being applied to for interposition in the case of a lady accused of witchcraft, took the responsibility of signing a discharge for her, upon which document the jailor took the responsibility of setting the accused free, — to his own harm, it was said. Whether this had any thing to do with that accusation of the Governor’s lady herself as a witch, which Calef asserts and Douglass hints, and which it was be-

lieved had some influence in opening the Governor’s eyes, and staying the delusion with its plague of blood, is not obvious. [Hutchinson’s *Hist. Mass.* ii: 61; Drake’s *Witchcraft Delusion*, &c. iii: 159; Douglass’s *Summary*, i: 450.]

¹⁸⁵ *Teconnet* falls are on the *Kennebec*, opposite the village of Waterville. On the point of land above the confluence of the *Sebasticook* with the *Kennebec*, and below these falls, stood the old *Teconnet* fort of the Indians, here referred to, and, in 1754, Fort Halifax of the English. The site of the fort itself is in Winslow, and the block-house was lately standing. [Williamson’s *Hist. Me.* i: 50; Minot’s *Hist. Mass.* i: 186.]

the Enemy perceiving fet fire to their Houfes in the Fort, and ran away by the light of them, and when Maj. *Church* came to the faid Fort found about half their Houfes ftanding and the reft burnt; alfo found great quantities of Corn, put up into Indian Cribs, which he and his Forces deftroyed, as ordered. Having done what Service he could in thofe parts return'd to *Pemquid*, and coming there employ'd his Forces according to his Inftuctions:¹⁸⁶ being out of Bread, his Excellency not coming, Maj. *Church* was oblig'd to borrow Bread of the Captain of the Man of War that was then there, for all the Forces under his Command, his Excellency not coming as expected. But at length his Excellency came and brought very little Bread more than would pay what was borrowed of the Man of War: So that in a fhort time after Maj. *Church* with his Forces return'd home to *Boflon*, and had their Wages for their good Service done. Only one thing by the way I will but juft mention, that is, about the Six Pounds Maj. *Church* borrowed as afore-mention'd, and put in-[86]to the hands of Mr. *Fobes*, who diftributed the faid Money, all but 30 s. to the *Indian* Souldiers as directed, which was deducted out of their Wages, and the Country had Credit for the fame; and the faid *Fobes* kept the 30 s to himfelf, which was deducted out of his Wages. Whereupon Maj *Walley* and the faid *Fobes* had fome words. In fhort, Maj. *Church* was forc'd to pay the Six Pounds he borrowed out of his own Pocket, befides which

¹⁸⁶ In the hateful bufinefs of fort-building.

the said *Church* was oblig'd to expend about Six Pounds of his own Money in Marching down the Forces both *English* and *Indians* to *Boston*, having no drink allow'd them upon the Road, &c. So that in stead of Maj *Church's* having the allowances afore-mentioned by Maj. *Walley*, he was out of Pocket about Twelve Pounds more and above what he had;¹⁸⁷ all which had not been, had not his Excellency been gone out of the Country.¹⁸⁸

The Fourth Expedition, *East*.

IN 1696. Maj *Church* being at *Boston*, and belonging to the House of Representatives,¹⁸⁹ several Gentlemen requesting him to go East again, and the General Court having made Acts of Incouragement, &c. He told them, if they would provide Whale Boats, & other necessaries convenient, he would: Being also requested by the said General Court, he proceeded to raise Volunteers, and made it his whole business Riding both East and West in our Province¹⁹⁰ and *Connecticut*, at great charge and expences; and in about a Months time raised a sufficient

¹⁸⁷ Walley told him in the outset (p. 83), that "the country could not give him less than two or three hundred pounds"; so that, at the lowest calculation, Church made a loss of £188 upon his expectations "aforementioned."

¹⁸⁸ He means that Gov. Phips's absence when this settlement took place was the cause of the wrong which he suffered.

¹⁸⁹ I have found no trace of his appointment as Deputy this year, on the Bristol Town Records. This would seem, from various considerations, to have been just about as he was removing to Fall River. [See Part I. xxxi.]

¹⁹⁰ Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies had been consolidated into the new "Province of Massachusetts Bay" by the new Charter of 1692.

number out of those Parts, and March'd them down to *Boston*; where he had the promise that every thing should be ready in three Weeks or a Months time, but was oblig'd to stay considerable longer. Being now at *Boston* he received his Commission and Instructions; which are as followeth.

William Stoughton, *Esq*; ¹⁹¹ *Lieutenant Governour and Commander in Chief in and over His Majesties Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New-England. To Major Benjamin Church, Greeting.*

WHereas there are several Companies raised, consisting of English-Men & Indians for His Majesties Service, to go forth upon the Encouragement given by the Great and General Court or Assembly of this His Majesties Province, convened at Boston the 27th Day of May 1696. to prosecute the French and Indian Enemy, &c. And you having offered your self to take the command and conduct of the said several Companies. By vertue therefore of the Power and Authority in and by His Majesties Royal Commission to me

¹⁹¹ William Stoughton, son of Israel, of Dorchester, graduated at Harvard, and then at Oxford, Eng.; became a preacher; is named by Calamy among those ejected; came back, and preached the election sermon of 1668; became Selectman, Assistant, Commissioner of the United Colonies; went to England in 1677 with Bulkley as agent of the colonies; was one of Andros's Council; was chosen Lieut. Gov. under the new

Charter; and became Chief-Justice; died 7 July, 1701. The recall of Sir William Phips left him in chief command until Bellamont's arrival in 1699. He was on the witch bench, and, unlike Sewall, never expressed penitence for the part he took. He built Stoughton Hall at Harvard. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 215; Palmer's *Noncon. Mem.* i: 197; Quincy's *Hist. Har. Un.* i: 178, 9; Eliot's *Biog. Dict.* 444.]

Granted, reposing special trust and confidence in your Loyalty, Prudence, courage and good conduct. I do by these Presents Constitute and Appoint you to be Major of the said several Companies, both English-Men and Indians, raised for His Majesties Service upon the Encouragement aforesaid. You are therefore carefully and diligently to perform the duty of your place, by Leading, Ordering, and Exercising the said several Companies in Arms, both Inferiour Officers and Soul-[87]diers, keeping them in good Order and Discipline, commanding them to obey you as their Major. And your self diligently to intend His Majesties Service for the prosecuting, pursuing, taking, killing or destroying the said Enemy by Sea or Land; And to observe all such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from my Self or Commander in chief for the time being, according to the Rules and Discipline of War, pursuant to the trust reposed in you. Given under my Hand & Seal at Arms at Boston, the Third Day of August, 1696. In the Eighth Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord William the Third by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Wm. STOUGHTON.

By Command of the Lieut. Governour, &c.

Isaac Addington, Secr.

Province of the Massachusetts-Bay.

*By the Rt. Honourable the Lieutenant Governour and
Commander in Chief.*

Instructions for Maj. Benjamin Church, *Commander
of the Forces raised for His Majesties Service against
the French and Indian Enemy and Rebels.*

PUrsuant to the Commission given you, you are to Embark the Forces now furnished and equipped for His Majesties Service on the present Expedition to the Eastern parts of this Province, and with them and such others as shall offer themselves to go forth on the said Service to Sail unto Piscataqua, to joyn those lately dispatched thither for the same Expedition, to await your coming. And with all care and diligence to improve the Vessels, Boats and Men under your command in search for, prosecution and pursuit of the said Enemy, at such places where you may be informed of their abode or resort, or where you may probably expect to find or meet with them, and take all advantages against them which Providence shall favour you with.

You are not to list or accept any Souldiers that are already in His Majesties pay and posted at any Town or Garrison within this Province, without special Order from my self.

You are to require and give strict Orders that the duties of Religion be attended on board the severall Vessels, and in the severall companies under your command, by daily Prayers unto God and reading His Holy Word, and Observance of the Lords Day to the utmost you can.

You are to see that your Souldiers have their due allow-

ance of Provisions and other necessaries, & that the Sick or Wounded be accommodated in the best manner your circumstances will admit. And that good order and command be kept up & maintained in the several companies, and all disorders, drunkenness, prophane cursing, swearing, disobedience to Officers, mutinies, omissions or neglect of duty, be duly punished according to the Laws Martial. And you are to require the Captain or chief Officer of each company with the Clerk of the same, to keep an exact Journal of all their proceedings from time to time.

In case any of the Indian Enemy and Rebels offer to submit themselves, you are to receive them only at discretion. But if you think fit to improve any of them or any others which you may happen to take Prisoners, you may encourage them to be faithful by the promise of their lives, which shall be granted upon approbation of their fidelity. [88]

You are carefully to look after the Indians which you have out of the Prison,¹⁹² so that they may not have opportunity to escape, but otherwise improve them to what advantage you can, and return them back again to this place.

You are to advise as you can have occasion with Capt. John Gorham¹⁹³ who accompanies you in this Expedition, and is to take your command in case of your Death. A

¹⁹² In pursuance of the policy by which, in the time of Philip's war, Cornelius the Dutch pirate, and others, had been taken out of Boston jail, and "allowed" to march against the Indians, the Province seems now to have swelled the ranks of its volunteers by a

similar resource. [Drake's *Hist. Bost.* i: 402; Part I. note 56.]

¹⁹³ John Gorham (Gorum, Goram, Gorrum, Goaram) was son of Capt. John, of Barnstable; was born at Marshfield, 20 Feb., 1654; was a tanner, like his father; was with his father in

copy of these Instructions you are to leave with him, and to give me an account from time to time of your proceedings.

Boston, August 12th. 1696. *Wm. STOUGHTON.*

In the time Maj. *Church* lay at *Boston*, the News came of *Pemquid* Fort being taken,¹⁹⁴ it came by a Shallop¹⁹⁵ that brought some Prisoners to *Boston*, who gave account also that there was a French Ship at Mount-*Desart*,¹⁹⁶ who

Philip's war; 5 June, 1690, was made captain in the Canada Expedition, and was afterwards Lieut. Col.; later was much employed as a conveyancer; died 9 Dec., 1716, and lies buried at the N.E. corner of the Unitarian meeting-house in Barnstable. He married, 24 Feb., 167½, Mercy, daughter of John Otis; had John, Temperance, Mary, Stephen, Shubael, John, Thankful, Job, Mercy; left a real estate of £2000, and personal of £322. [Otis's *Hist. Barnstable*, i: 217-222.]

¹⁹⁴ The French conceived that Fort William Henry, at *Pemaquid*, had importance in controlling the western portion of Acadia, and determined to reduce it. Iberville was sent from Quebec with two ships of war, with arrangements to co-operate with Villebon and 50 *Mickmacks*, and Castine with 200 of his savages; on the way, met and captured one of an English fleet, and then invested and attacked *Pemaquid*. The fort was at the time in command of Capt. Pascoe Chubb (of Andover), who had shown his incompetence by treachery toward some Indian envoys in the previous February; and was basely surrendered without any determined effort at

defence, — though Charlevoix suggests, through the cowardice of the garrison compelling the captain against his will, — 15 July, 1696. The fort was mostly demolished, after a history of four years fully justifying Church's scruples in the beginning. Chubb was cashiered, and was not forgotten by the Indians, who succeeded in murdering him and his wife Hannah (Faulkner) at Andover, 5 March, 1698. [Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 642-4; Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* ii: 88; Charlevoix's *Hist. Nouv. France*, iii: 260-2; Abbott's *Hist. Andover*, 43.]

¹⁹⁵ Hutchinson says it was "a French shallop belonging to St. John's, with 23 foldiers under *Villeau*, their captain." [*Hist. Mass.* ii: 91.]

¹⁹⁶ *Mount Desert* Island lies just east of the *debouchure* of Union river, — say 25 miles east of the centre of Penobscot Bay, and is the largest island in the State, being 15 miles long by about 7 in mean width, and containing some 60,000 acres. A third part of this shoots up into 13 high and rugged peaks, visible 20 leagues at sea, and giving to it its French name, *Monts Deserts* (the desolate mountains — not, as Mr. Drake

had taken a Ship of ours;¹⁹⁷ so the discourse was that they would send the Man of War,¹⁹⁸ with other Forces to take the said French Ship and retake ours. But in the mean time Maj. *Church* and his Forces being ready, imbarc'd, and on the 15th day of *August* set Sail for *Piscataqua*, where more Men were to joyn them (but before they left *Boston*, Maj. *Church* discours'd with the Captain of the Man of War, who promised him, if he went to Mount-Defart in pursuit of the said French Ship, that he would call for him and his Forces at *Piscataqua*, expecting that the *French & Indians* might not be far from the said French Ship, so that he might have an opportunity to fight them while he was engag'd with the French Ship:) Soon after the Forces arrived at *Piscataqua* the Major sent his *Indian* Souldiers to Col. *Gidney*¹⁹⁹ at *York*,²⁰⁰ to be assist-

suggests, named by Champlain in honor of *De Monts*).

¹⁹⁷ The "ship of ours" was the Newport, Capt. Paxton, which was cruising off the Bay of Fundy (to intercept French stores supposed to be on their way from Quebec to Villebon) with the Sorlings, Capt. Eames, and the Province tender. The two latter escaped in a fog. Iberville refitted the Newport, and took her with him to help reduce *Pemaquid*.

¹⁹⁸ The Sorlings.

¹⁹⁹ *Bartholomew Gedney (Gidney)* was son of John, of Salem; was baptized 14 June, 1640; became a practising physician; freeman, 1669; 1680-83, Assistant and Counsellor; joined Bradstreet and others when they assumed

the government on Andros's overthrow; was named as Counsellor in the new charter; 1690, commanded in the French and Indian Expedition; 3 Oct., 1692, was made Judge of Probate for Essex County; same year was made Judge of Court of Com. Pleas for the same County. He was constantly engaged in civil and military life until his death, 28 Feb., 1693. He married Hannah Clark, and had Jonathan, Bartholomew, Hannah, Lydia, Bethia, Deborah, Samuel, Deborah and Martha (twins), Priscilla, and Ann. He was one of the seven "witch" judges. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* ii: 240; Washburn's *Judicial Hist. Mass.* 141, 147.]

²⁰⁰ "16 Aug., 1696, Col. Gedney marches with 460 of his regiment for

ing for the defence of those Places; who gave them a good Commend for their ready & willing Services done, in Scouting, and the like Lying at *Piscataqua* with the rest of our Forces near a Week, waiting for more Forces who was to joyn them to make up their complement;²⁰¹ in all which time heard never a word of the Man of War. On the 22d of *August* they all imbarck'd from *Piscataqua*, and when they came against *York*, the Major went a shore, sending Capt. *Gorham* with some Forces in the two Briganteens and a Sloop to *Winter Harbour*, ordering him to fend out Scouts to see if they could make any discovery of the Enemy, and to wait there till he came to them: Maj. *Church* coming to *York*, Col. *Gidney* told him his opinion was, That the Enemy was drawn off from those parts, for that the Scouts could not discover any of them, nor their Tracks. So having done his business there, went with what Forces he had there to *Winter Harbour*, where he had the same account from Capt. *Gorham*, That they had not discovered any of the Enemy, nor any new Tracks: So concluding they were gone from those Parts towards *Penobscot*; the Major ordered all the Vessels to come to Sail and make the best of their way to *Monhegin*,²⁰² which being not far from *Penobscot*,²⁰³ where the main body of

Kittery. He is accompanied by a troop under Capt. John Turner." [Felt's *Annals of Salem*, ii : 509.]

²⁰¹ The "complement" was 500 men. [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* ii : 91.]

²⁰² *Monhegan* (*Monchiggon*, *Monhiggon*, *Morattigon*) lies 9 miles S. of

George's Islands, 5 leagues E. S. E. of Townsend, and 3 leagues W. of *Metinic*, on the coast of Maine; and contains more than 1000 acres of good land, with a bold shore. [Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i : 61.]

²⁰³ It is perhaps 14 miles S. E. from

our Enemies living was; being in great hopes to come up with the Army of *French & Indians*, before they had scattered and were gone past *Penobscot* or *Mount-Desart*, which is the chief place of their [89] departure from each other after such actions; and having a fair wind made the best of our way, and early next Morning they got into *Monhegan*, and there lay all day fitting their Boats, and other neccessaries to imbarc in the Night at *Muffel neck*²⁰⁴ with their Boats; lying there all Day to keep undiscovered from the Enemy; at Night the Major ordered the Vessels all to come to Sail and carry the Forces over the Bay near *Penobscot*; but having little Wind,²⁰⁵ he ordered all the Souldiers to imbarc on board the Boats with eight days Provision, and sent the Vessels back to *Monhegan*, that they might not be discovered by the Enemy; giving them orders when and where they should come to him. The Forces being all ready in their Boats, rowing very hard, got a-shore at a Point near *Penobscot*²⁰⁶ just as the day broke, and hid their Boats, and keeping a good look-out by Sea, and sent Scouts out by Land; but could not discover neither Canoo's nor *Indians*; what Tracks and fire places they saw were judg'd to be 7 or 8 days before they

Pemaquid, and 25 miles S. W. of the entrance of *Penobscot* bay.

²⁰⁴ I am not clear whether the reference here is to a point of that name on *Monhegan*, or to the *Muscle Ridges*, which is a cluster of about a dozen islands, not far off.

²⁰⁵ The boats, of course, were with

the ships; and so, finding that the wind was too light to make progress by sails, he put his men into the boats, and sent the ships back.

²⁰⁶ At *Owl's Head*, in the N. E. corner of Thomaston. [Sewall's *Anc. Dom. of Me.* 215; Eaton's *Hist. Thomaston, Rockland, and So. Thom.* i: 29.]

came: As soon as Night came that they might go undiscovered got into their Boats and went by *Muffel-neck*, and so amongst *Penobscot* Islands,²⁰⁷ looking very sharp as they went for fires on the shore, and for Canoo's, but found neither; getting up to *Mathebestucks* hills,²⁰⁸ day coming on, landed, and hid their Boats; looking out for the Enemy, as the day before, but to little purpose. Night coming on, to their Oars again, working very hard, turn'd the Night into Day; made several of their new Souldiers grumble: but telling them they hoped to come up quickly with the Enemy put new life into them; and by day-light they got into the Mouth of the River, where landing, found many Rendezvous and fire Places where the *Indians* had been; but at the same space of time, as before mentioned. And no Canoo's passed up the River that day. Their Pilot *Joseph York*²⁰⁹ inform'd the Major that 50 or 60 Miles up that River at the great Falls, the Enemy had a great Rendezvous,²¹⁰ and planted a great quantity of

²⁰⁷ A large cluster of islands lie off in the mouth of Penobscot bay. Among them are Long, Seven Hundred Acre, Billy Job's, Marhall's, Laffell's, Mark, Saddle, Lime, Ensign, two Mouse, Spruce, and Fox islands, with some unnamed.

²⁰⁸ These are Camden heights — as the crow flies, about 10 miles N. W. from Owl's Head, in the town of Camden. They are five or six in number, the highest being some 1500 feet above the sea level. They can be seen 20 leagues at sea. [See Williamfon's *Hist. Me.* i: 95.]

²⁰⁹ Williamfon [*Hist. Me.* i: 645] calls this pilot *John York*, but gives no authority for differing from Church. A family of Yorks was among the earliest settlers of these regions, who were probably descendants of Richard, who lived in Dover, N.H., 1648. John York was one of the trustees of No. Yarmouth, 1685; and *James*, Thomas, and Samuel purchased land of the Indians, in July, 1670, on the east side of the Androscoggin. [Willis's *Hist. Portland*, 302; Sullivan's *Hist. Me.* 146.]

²¹⁰ Supposed to be the present *Oldtown*, 12 miles above Bangor.

Corn, when he was a Prisoner with them, four Years ago, and that he was very well acquainted there; this gave great encouragement to have had some considerable advantage of the Enemy at that Place; so using their utmost endeavours to get up there undiscovered: and coming there found no Enemy nor Corn Planted, they having deserted the Place. And ranging about the Falls on both sides of the River, leaving Men on the East side of the said River, and the Boats just below the Falls,²¹¹ with a good guard to secure them, and to take the Enemy if they came down the River in their Canoo's: The west side being the Place where the Enemy lived and best to travel on, they resolved to range as privately as they could, a Mile or two above the Falls, discovered a birch Canoo coming down with two *Indians* in it, the Major sent word immediately back to those at the Falls to lye very close, and let them pass down the Falls, and to take them alive, that he might have Intelligence where the Enemy was (which would have been a great advantage to them:) but a foolish [90] Souldier seeing them passing by him, shot at them, contrary to orders given, which prevented them going into the Ambascado that was laid for them; whereupon several more of our Men being near, shot at them; so that one of them could not stand when he got ashore, but crept away into the brush, the other step'd out of the Canoo with his Paddle in his hand, and ran about a rod, and then threw

²¹¹ Williamfon says they left their boats at the "Bend," in what is now Eddington. [*Hist. Me.* i: 645.]

down his Paddle and turn'd back & took up his Gun, and so escaped: One of our *Indians* swam over the River and fetch'd the Canoo, wherein was a considerable quantity of bloud on the Seats, that the *Indians* sat on; the Canoo having several holes shot in her: They stoppt the holes, and then Capt. *Brackit*²¹² with an *Indian* Souldier went over the River, who Track'd them by the bloud about half a Mile, found his Gun, took it up, and seeing the bloud no further, concluded that he stoppt his bloud, and so got away. In the mean time another Canoo with three Men were coming down the River were fired at by some of our Forces, ran ashore and left two of their Guns in the Canoo, which were taken, and also a Letter from a Priest to *Casteen*,²¹³ that gave him an account of the *French* and *Indians* returning over the Lake²¹⁴ to *Mount-Royal*,²¹⁵ and of their little Service done upon the *Maquas Indians* westward, only demolishing one Fort and cutting down some Corn, &c.²¹⁶ He desiring to hear of the proceedings of

²¹² See note 120, *ante*.

²¹³ See note 34, *ante*.

²¹⁴ The *Oneida* or *Onondaga* lake.
[1 *New York Hist. Coll.* iv: 121.]

²¹⁵ *Montreal*. "Ils admirèrent la beauté des alentours, comme aussi le cours majestueux & la largeur du grand fleuve, qu'ils suivaient des yeux autant que leur vue pouvait s'étendre; enfin l'imp tuosité du fait où leurs barques étaient restées; ce qui fut cause que Cartier, charmé des points de vue qu'il découvrait de là, nomma cette montagne le *Mont-Royal*, d'où est venu

le nom de *Montreal* donné à l'île où cette petite montagne est assise." [*Histoire de la Col. Française en Canada*, i: 24.]

²¹⁶ The *Maquas* (*Mingos*) were the *Five Nations* of the English, and the *Iroquois* of the French. The expedition to which reference is here made was that of *Frontenac*, who added to all his own French regulars as many Indians as he could collect, and left *Lachine*, 7 July, 1696, with light *batteaux* for river portage, &c., with a powerful force to attack the Five Nations. After 12 days'

Deborahuel,²¹⁷ and the French Man of War; and informed him that there were several Canoo's coming with workmen from *Quabeck*, to Saint *John's*,²¹⁸ where since we concluded it was to build a Fort at the Rivers Mouth, where the great Guns were taken, &c. It being just Night, the Officers were call'd together to advise, & their Pilot *York*

march, they arrived at *Cadaraequi*, and scattered the *Onondagas*, but only captured a little corn and a Sachem 100 years old, whom they tortured in a way which extorted from Charlevoix the remark, that "never was a man treated with more cruelty, nor ever did any man bear torture with greater firmness and magnanimity." Frontenac marched back, with no further results for this expensive campaign than the treacherous capture of 35 confiding *Oncidas*, who were taken by the Chevalier *Vaudreuil*. [1 *New-York Hist. Coll.* ii: 44; iv: 121; Bancroft's *Hist. U. S.* iii: 190; Hildreth's *Hist. U. S.* ii: 193; Dunlap's *Hist. New York*, i: 227; Colden's *Hist. Five Ind. Nations*, 188-194.]

²¹⁷ This is a curious illustration of the ease with which names are changed by passing from one language into another. Between Col. Church's way of pronouncing the name of this French admiral, and his son Thomas's way of writing it, the very respectable *D'Iberville* was metamorphosed into the abnormal, if not neutral, certainly peculiar, "*Deborahuel*."

Lemoine D'Iberville was born in Montreal, 1642; was one of seven brothers active in Canadian affairs; went early to sea; distinguished himself for bravery and ability; commanded the expedition

which recovered Fort Nelson to the French, 1686; successfully invaded Newfoundland, and gained victories in Hudson's Bay, 1697; was reputed to be the most skilful naval officer in the French service; was commissioned to explore the mouth of the Mississippi, and failed from *Rocheport* for that purpose, 17 Oct., 1698; entered the river, 2 March, 1670; returned to France, but was again ordered to the river; captured Nevis, 1706; died at Havana, on board his ship, on the eve of an expedition against Jamaica, 9 July, 1706. Hutchinson is wrong in his note, "This was not the *Iberville* who laid the foundation of the French colony at Mississippi in 1690. He died in a year or two after that." The colony was founded in 1699, and D'Iberville lived seven years after that date. He was invading Newfoundland the next year after this expedition of Church, and there is no reason to doubt that he was the admiral in command of the French ships which captured and razed *Pemaquid*. [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* ii: 88; *New Amer. Cy.* ix: 430.]

²¹⁸ *Saint John* still stands — as the principal city and seaport of New Brunswick — on a rocky peninsula on the left bank of the picturesque river of the name.

inform'd them of a Fort up that River, & that it was built on a little Island in that River;²¹⁹ and that there was no getting to it but in Canoo's, or on the Ice in the Winter time: This with the certain knowledge that we were discovered by the Enemy that escaped out of the upper Canoo, concluded it not proper at that time to proceed any further up, and that there was no getting any further with our Boats; and the Enemy being Alarm'd would certainly fly from them (and to do as they did four Years ago at their Fort at *Taconock*, having fought them in *Kanebeck* River, and pursued them about 30 Miles to *Taconock*;²²⁰ for they then set their Fort on fire, and run away by the Light of it, ours not being able to come up with them at that Place.) Maj. *Church* then encouraging his Souldiers, told them, he hop'd they should meet with part of the Enemy, in *Penobscot* bay, or at Mount-*Desart*, where the French Ships were. So notwithstanding they had been rowing several Nights before, with much toyl, besides were short of Provisions, they chearfully embark'd on board their Boats, and went down the River, both with and against the Tide: and next Morning came to their Vessels, where the Major had ordered them to meet him, who could give him no intelligence of any Enemy. Where being come they refresh'd themselves; Meeting then with another disappointment, for their Pilot *York* [91] not being acquainted any further,

²¹⁹ See note 210, *ante*.

²²⁰ See note 185, *ante*.

they began to lament the loss of one *Robert Cawley*,²²¹ who they chiefly depended on for all the Service to be done now Eastward: he having been taken away from them the Night before they set Sail from *Boston* (and was on board Mr. *Thorps*²²² Sloop) and put on board the Man of War, unknown to Maj *Church*; notwithstanding he had been at the charge and trouble of procuring him. Then the Major was oblig'd to one *Bord*,²²³ procured by Mr. *William Alden*,²²⁴ who being acquainted in those parts, to leave his Vessel and go with him in the Boats, which he readily complied with, and so went to *Nasket* point;²²⁵ where being inform'd was a likely place to meet with the Enemy; coming there found several Housing and small Fields of Corn, the fires having been out several days, and no

²²¹ *Robert Cawley* (*Caule, Caulie*), of *Pemaquid*, took the oath of fidelity to Massachusetts, at the Court, 7 Oct., 1674; and was undoubtedly the person here referred to. He may have been a son of Thomas, who was freeman, Cambridge, 1640; was "allowed to keepe victualing in his house for strangers" 14 May, 1645, and appears to have been at Marblehead, 1671. [*Mss. Col. Rec.* ii: 98; v: 18; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iii: 187; *Savage's Gen. Dict.* i: 350.]

²²² There was a *Robert Thorpe* at York, 1660; and one of that name was admonished by the Court "not to adventure too many into any boate." [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 293; *Mss. Col. Rec.* i: 249.]

²²³ *Henry Boade* (*Bord, Bode, Boad*) settled at Saco before 1636; was freeman at Wells, Me., 5 July, 1653; was Justice there 1653; died 1657. This man of whom Church speaks, may have been his son. [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iii: 193; *Folsom's Hist. Saco*, 119.]

²²⁴ *Capt. John Alden* (see note 133, *ante*) had a son William, born 10 Sept., 1669, who would now be 27 years old, and may have followed his father's seafaring trade, and been a member of this expedition, as "master of the Briganteen *Endeavour*." [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* i: 23.]

²²⁵ *Nasket* point is the S. E. extremity of the present town of Sedgewick, Me.

new Tracks. But upon *Penobscot* Island²²⁶ they found several *Indian* Houses, Corn & Turnips, tho' the Enemy still being all gone, as before mentioned. Then they divided and sent their Boats some one way and some another, thinking that if any straggling *Indians*, or *Casteen* himself should be there-about, they might find them, but it prov'd all in vain. Himself and several Boats went to *Mount-Desart*, to see if the French Ships were gone and whither any of the Enemy might be there, but to no purpose: The Ships being gone and the Enemy also. They being now got several Leagues to the Westward of their Vessels; and seeing that the way was clear for their Vessels to pass: And all their extream rowing and travelling by Land and Water, Night and Day to be all in vain. The Enemy having left those parts, as they judg'd about eight or ten days before. And then returning to their Vessels, the Commander calling all his Officers together, to consult and resolve what to do, concluding that the Enemy by some means or other had received some Intelligence of their being come out against them; and that they were in no necessity to come down to the Sea side as yet, Moose and Bever now being fat. They then agreed to go so far East, and imploy themselves, that the Enemy belonging to those parts might think they were gone home: having some discourse about going over to Saint *John's*; but the

²²⁶ Now called *Orphan* Island, containing some 5000 acres, and dividing the waters of the *Penobscot* into two branches. The island is taxed in Buck-

port, and owned by descendants of an *orphan*, who inherited a part of the old Waldo patent. [Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 69.]

Masters of the Vessels said, he had as good carry them to old *France*, &c. which put off that design, they concluding that the French Ships were there. Then the Major mov'd for going over the Bay towards *Lahane*,²²⁷ and toward the Gut of *Cancer*,²²⁸ where was another considerable Fort of *Indians*, who often came to the assistance of our Enemy, the barbarous *Indians*; saying that by the time they should return again, the Enemy belonging to these parts would be come down again, expecting that we are gone home. But in short, could not prevail with the Masters of the open Sloops to venture a-cross the Bay; who said it was very dangerous so late in the Year, and as much as their Lives were worth, &c. Then they concluded and resolved to go to *Senaclata*,²²⁹ wherein there was a ready compliance (but the want of their Pilot *Robert Cawley* was a great damage to them, who knew all those parts:) how-

²²⁷ Misprint for *La Have*, a harbor of Nova Scotia on its S. E. coast, at the mouth of the Have, some 50 miles S. W. from Halifax. [Haliburton's *Hist. Nov. Scot.* i: 141.]

²²⁸ The gut of *Canseau* is the narrow channel between Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, from the Atlantic into Northumberland Strait; averaging scarcely more than 2 miles in width, to a length of 17 miles. Almost the whole length of Nova Scotia lies between it and St. John, — making it at least four and a half degrees farther E. than that town. The saying above, of the masters, that "he had as good carry them to old *France*, &c.," must refer to their notion

that St. John was as full of enemies as "Old France," and not to the ocean distance; as is shown here by their reluctance even to cross the Bay.

²²⁹ *Chicouctou* Bay (*Beau Basin*) is an inlet between Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, being the tapering northern extremity of the Bay of Fundy. This is two degrees farther E. than St. John's, and a little farther north. The fort, or settlement, of *Beau Basin*, which Church was proceeding to attack, was situated at the extreme N. E. terminus of the bay, and just N. of the entrance of the river *La Planche*, on nearly the same spot where Fort Lawrence afterward stood.

[92] ever Mr. *John Alden* Master of the Briganteen Endeavour Pilotted them up the Bay to *Senaclata*; and coming to *Grinfton-point*,²³⁰ being not far from *Senaclata*; then came too with all the Vessels; and early next Morning came to Sail, and about Sun-rise got into Town; but it being so late before we landed, that the Enemy most of them made their escape, (and as it happen'd landed where the *French & Indians* had some time before killed Lieut. *John Paine*,²³¹ and several of Capt. *Smithsons*²³² Men, that

²³⁰ I know not how to explain this, except it refers to *Ile des Meules* (Ile of Grindstones, or Millstones), which is laid down on Charlevoix's Map of *Acadia*, a few miles N. W. of *Beau Basin*, and just out of sight from it round *Cape des Maringouins* (Mosquito Point).

²³¹ I find no satisfactory account of this *John Paine*. Mr. Drake [*ed. of Church* (1843), 228; *ed. of Hubbard*, ii: 212] intimates that this may have been the John Pain who had trouble with the government in 1669, in the matter of Thomas Dickinson's murder at *Pennacook* in the previous summer, by an Indian beside himself with rum, which Pain had furnished to him and others. But the records are perfectly explicit on the point that that man's name was "*Thomas Payne*, late trader among the Indians at *Pennicooke* upon *Merrimack* river." This Lieut. John may have been his son. [*Mafs. Col. Rec.* iv: Part II. 428; Bouton's *Hist. Concord, N.H.* 35.]

²³² I am equally unfortunate with regard to *Capt. Smithson*. The name

is a very uncommon one in early New-England annals. It does not appear in Savage's omnivorous pages; nor in the crowded indexes of the 20 vols. of the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, except as the name of a passenger to Virginia in 1635; nor in those of the 43 vols. of the *Collections and Proceedings of the Mafs. Hist. Society*; nor in that of Drake's *Founders of New England*; nor in the list of freemen of Mafs.; nor in the indexes of the *Mafs. Col. Records*; nor in the list of the freemen of Plymouth Colony, or the indexes of its records; nor in those of the records of the Colonies of Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Haven. Under these circumstances I have little doubt that the name is a mistake for another — what, I have no useful conjecture. Nor can I suggest in what skirmish these lives had been lost, unless it were connected with Sir William Phips's Expedition in 1690, when he seems to have visited *Beau Basin*. [*Haliburton's Hist. Nov. Scot.* i: 77; Hutchinson's *Hist. Mafs.* i: 352.]

was with said *Paine*) They seeing our Forces coming took the opportunity, fired several Guns, and so run all into the Woods, carried all or most part of their goods with them. One *Farman Bridgway*²³³ came running towards our Forces with a Gun in one hand, and his Cartridg-box in the other, calling to our Forces to stop that he might speak with them; but Maj. *Church* thinking it was that they might have some advantage, ordered them to run on; when the said *Bridgway* saw they would not stop, turn'd and run, but the Major call'd unto him, and bid him stop, or he should be shot down; some of our Forces being near to the said *Bridgway*, said it was the General that call'd to him: he hearing that, stop'd and turn'd about, laying down his Gun, stood, till the Major came up to him, his desire was that the Commander would make haste with him to his house, lest the Salvages²³⁴ should kill his Father and Mother, who were upward of fourscore Years of Age, and could not go. The Major ask'd the said *Bridgway* whither there was any *Indians* amongst them? and where they liv'd? he shak'd his head, and said, he durst not tell, for if he did they would take an opportunity and kill him and his: so all that could be got out of him was, that they were run into the Woods with

²³³ "The English pursued, and soon met *Bourgeois* (Church calls him *Bridgman*) a principal inhabitant, coming to ask quarter for himself and family." [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* ii: 92.] Haliburton calls him "one of the most

respectable Acadians." [*Hist. Nov. Scot.* i: 77.]

²³⁴ That is, Church's Indians, — among whom probably were still some of those faithful old *Saconets* who had followed him on so many war-paths.

the rest. Then orders were given to pursue the Enemy, and to kill what *Indians* they could find, and take the *French* alive, and give them quarter, if they ask'd it. Our Forces soon took three French Men, who upon examination said, That the Indians were all run into the woods. The French firing several Guns at our Forces, and ours at them; but they being better acquainted with the woods than ours, got away. The Major took the above said *Jarman Bridgway* for a Pilot, and with some of his Forces went over a River,²³⁵ to several of their houses, but the People were gone and carried their goods with them: In ranging the woods found several Indian-houses, their fires being just out, but no Indians. Spending that day in ranging to & fro, found considerable of their goods, and but few People; at Night the Major writ a Letter, and sent out two French Prisoners, wherein was signified, That if they would come in, they should have good quarters. The next day several come in, which did belong to that part of the Town where our Forces first landed, who had encouragements given them by our Commander, That if they would assist him in taking those *Indians* which belong'd to those parts, they should have their goods return'd to them again, and their Estates should not be damnify'd;²³⁶ which they refused. Then the Major and his [93] Forces pursued their design and went further ranging their Coun-

²³⁵ Probably the *Miffaquash*; and the houses were, most likely, where was afterwards Fort Cumberland.

²³⁶ "Damnified—to do damage to." — *Bailey*. "That the Commonwealth of learning be not *damnified*."—*Milton*.

try, found several more houses, but the People fled, and carried what they had away; but in a Crick²³⁷ found a prize Bark that was brought in there by a French Privateer: in ranging the woods took some Prisoners, who upon examination gave our Commander an account that there was some *Indians* upon a Neck of Land towards *Menes*;²³⁸ so a party of Men was sent into those woods, and in their ranging about the said Neck found some Plunder, and a considerable quantity of *Hurtleburies*, both green and dry, which were gathered by the *Indians*, and had like to have taken two *Indians*, who by the help of a birch Canoo got over the River²³⁹ and made their escape. Also they found two Barrels of Powder, and near half a bushel of Bullets; the French denying it to be theirs, said they were the Salvages; but sure it might be a supply for our Enemies: Also they took from *Jarman Bridgway* several Barrels of Powder, with Bullets, Shot, Spears and Knives, and other supplies to relieve our Enemies; he owning that he had been a Trading with those *Indians* along *Cape Sable* Shore, with *Peter Affnow*, &c. in a Sloop our Forces took from him; and that there he met with the French Ships, and went along with them to *St. John's*, and helped them to unload the said Ships and carried up the River Provisions, Am-

²³⁷ The mouth of *Tantamar* river, or the *Memramcook*?

²³⁸ *Les Mines* was the name of the first bay running into the interior of Acadia, from the Bay of Fundy W. of

Beau Basin; and the neck was that which terminated in Cape *Chiegnecto*, now known as Cumberland.

²³⁹ *Riviere aux Pommes*: now Apple River?

munition, and other goods to *Vilboons*²⁴⁰ Fort. The Major having ranged all Places as was thought proper, return'd back to the place where they first Landed, and finding several Prisoners come in, who were much troubled to see their Cattel, Sheep, Hogs & Dogs lying dead about their houses, chop'd and hack'd with Hatches, (which was done without order from the Major²⁴¹) however he told them, It was nothing to what our poor *English* in our Frontier Towns were forc'd to look upon, for Men, Women and Children were chop'd and hack'd so, and left half dead, with all their Scalps taken of, and that they and their *Indians* served ours so; and our Salvages would be glad to serve them so too, if he would permit them; which caused them to be mighty submissive, and beg'd the Major that he would not let the Salvages serve them so. Our *Indians* being some what sensible of the discourse, desired to have some of them to Rest, and so make a dance; and dancing

²⁴⁰ The *Chevalier Villebon* was sent over from France to take the government of Nova Scotia, succeeding M. *Perot*. He made his fort at the mouth of the St. John the rallying point of French and Indians for their descents upon the English colonies. He participated with *D'Iberville* in the capture of *Pemaguid*, and was now back at his fort. Charlevoix makes the mistake of confounding him with *Villeau* (see note 194, ante), and so represents him as having been captured and released by the English. Haliburton copies the blunder, saying he "was captured with

23 others, and sent to Boston." [Charlevoix's *Hist. Nouv. France*; Haliburton's *Hist. Nov. Scot.* i: 77.]

²⁴¹ Charlevoix says that our soldiers plundered the Acadians until *Burgois* produced a proclamation which had been given by Sir Wm. Phips, assuring them of protection so long as they remained faithful to King William; and that Church, being made acquainted with it, respected it, and ordered his soldiers to do the same, who however, he adds, still "conducted themselves as if they had been in a conquered country." [*Hist. Nouv. France.*]

in a hideous manner to terrify them, said, That they could eat any sort of flesh, and that some of theirs would make their hearts strong: stepping up to some of the Prisoners, said, They must have their Scalps, which much terrified the poor Prisoners, who beg'd for their lives. The Major told them he did not design the Salvages should hurt them; but it was to let them see a little what the poor *English* felt, saying, it was not their Scalps he wanted, but the Salvages, for that he should get nothing by them; and told them, That their Fathers the Fryers²⁴² and Governours incouraged their Salvages, and gave them Money to Scalp our *English*, notwithstanding they were with them; which several of our *English* there present did testify to their Faces, that their Fathers and Mothers were [94] served so in their sight. But the Major bid them tell their Fathers the Fryers and the Governours, That if they still persisted and let their wretched Salvages kill & destroy the poor *English* at that rate, he would come with some hundreds of Salvages, and let them loose among them, who would Kill, Scalp and carry away every French person in all those parts, for they were the root from whence all the branches came that hurt us; for the *Indians* could not do us any harm, if they did not relieve and supply them. The *French* being sensible of the Majors kindness to them, kiss'd his hand, & was very thankful to him for his favour to them in saving their lives; owned that their Priests was at the taking of *Pemaquid* Fort, and were now gone to

²⁴² The Acadians were bigoted Romanists.

*Layhona*²⁴³ with some of the *Indians*, to meet the French Ships, but for what they would not tell. The Commander with his Forces having done all the Service they could in those parts, concluded to go to St. *John's* River²⁴⁴ to do further Service for their King and Country, Embark'd all on board their Transports,²⁴⁵ and having a fair wind soon got to *Monogenest*,²⁴⁶ which lyes a little distance from the Mouth of St. *John's* River. Next Morning early the Major with his Forces landed to see what discovery they could make, Travel'd a cross the woods, to the old Fort or Falls at the Mouth of St. *John's* River, keeping themselves undiscovered from the Enemy; finding that there were several Men at work, and having inform'd themselves as much as they could, (the Enemy being on the other side of the River, could not come at them) Returned back, but Night coming on and dark wet Weather, with bad Travelling, was oblig'd to stop in the woods till towards day next Morning, and then went on board; soon after the Major ordered all the Vessels to come to Sail, and go into the Mouth of the River; being done, it was not long before the Major and his Forces landed on the

²⁴³ *La Have* (see note 227, *ante*.)

²⁴⁴ The scruples of those who thought "he had as good carry them to old France" as to St. John, when they were at *Penobscot*, were probably removed by finding that they would now be going near 150 miles toward home by repairing thither. It seems to have made a great difference in the valor of some of the party, whether they were heading E. or W.

²⁴⁵ Hutchinson says they left *Beau Basin*, 20 Sept., 1696. [*Hist. Mafs.* ii : 94.]

²⁴⁶ *Isle de Menagoniche* (given on Haliburton's Map as *Meogenes*) lies off the shore, a little W. of the entrance of the river St. John, and of the site of an old fort. The new fort, which *Villebon* was building, was on the other (E.) side of the river, just above the *Isle aux Perdraux* (now Partridge I.)

East side of the River, the *French* firing briskly at them, but did them no harm; and running fiercely upon the Enemy, they soon fled into the Woods. The Major ordered a brisk party to run a cross a Neck²⁴⁷ to cut them off from their Canoo's, which the day before they had made a discovery of; so the Commander with the rest ran directly towards the New Fort they were a building, not knowing but they had some Ordnance mounted. The Enemy running directly to their Canoo's was met by our Forces, who fired at them and kill'd one and wounded Corporal *Canton*,²⁴⁸ who was taken, the rest threw down what they had and ran into the woods; the said Prisoner *Canton* being brought to the Major, told him, if he would let his Surgeon dress his wound and cure him, he would be Serviceable to him as long as he liv'd: so being dress'd, he was Examined: who gave the Major an account of the Twelve great Guns which were hid in the beach below high water Mark (the Carriges, Shot and Wheelbarrows, some Flower & Pork, all hid in the Woods:) And the next Morning the Officers being all ordered to meet together, to consult about going up the River to *Vilboons* Fort,²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ The neck, apparently, between the St. John and the *Riviere de Canibechis* (Haliburton gives it *Kennebeck-asis*), the first Eastern confluent of the former above its mouth.

²⁴⁸ It would be a hopeless task to conjecture what French name lies *perdu* under this cognomen.

²⁴⁹ The fort which was the headquarters of *Villebon* was up the St. John

at the *Gemsec*. Haliburton gives the following paper, which describes minutely its condition in 1670; and which may be worth the space it will occupy as hinting the fashion of these Indian forts, and their fittings in the earlier days:

"INVENTORY. — 1. At the entering in of said Fort, on the left hand we found a court of guard about 15 paces long, and 10 broad, having, upon the right

and none amongst them being acquainted [95] but the *Aldens*, who said the Water in the River was very low; so that they could not get up to the Fort, and the Prisoner *Canton* told the Commander, That what the *Aldens* said was true. So not being willing to make a *Canada Expedition*,²⁵⁰ concluded it was not practicable to proceed. Then ordered some of the Forces to get the great Guns on board the open Sloops, and the rest to range the woods for the Enemy, who took one Prisoner, and brought in; who in their ranging found there a Shallop haul'd into a Crick, and a day or two after there came in a Young Souldier to our Forces, who upon examination gave an account of

hand a house of the like length and breadth, built with hewn stone and covered with shingles, and above them there is a chapel of about 6 paces long and 4 paces broad; covered with shingles and built with terras, upon which there is a small turret, wherein there is a little bell, weighing about 18 lbs.

"2. Upon the left hand as we entered into the Court, there is a magazine, having 2 stories built with stone, and covered with shingles, being in length about 36 paces long, and 10 in breadth; which magazine is very old and wanted much repair; under which is a little cellar, in which there is a well; and upon the other side of said court, being on the right hand, there is a house of the same length and breadth the magazine is, being half covered with shingles, and the rest uncovered and wanting much repair; upon the ramparts of the said fort are 12 iron guns, weighing in all 21,122 lbs.

"3. We do find in the said fort 6 murderers, without Chambers, weighing 1200 lbs.

"4. 200 iron bullets, from 3 to 8 lbs.

"5. About 30 or 40 paces from the said fort, there is a small outhouse, being about 20 paces in length, and 8 in breadth; built with planks and half covered with shingles, which do not serve for any use but to house cattle.

"6. About 50 paces from said outhouse there is a square garden, enclosed with rails, in which garden there are 50 or 60 trees bearing fruit.

"Signed,

LE CHEVALIER DE GRAND FONTAINE.

JEAN MAILLARD.

RICHARD WALKER.

ISAAC GARNER.

MARSHALL, Sec'y."

[Haliburton's *Hist. Nov. Scot.* i: 66.]

²⁵⁰ Sir William Phips's attack upon Canada had ingloriously failed in 1690, partly because of the lateness of the season at which it was undertaken, and

two more which he left in the woods at some distance; so immediately the Major with some of his Forces went in pursuit of them, taking the said Prisoner with them, who convey'd them to the place where he left them, but they were gone. Then ask'd the Prisoner, Whither there were any *Indians* in those parts? Said, No, it was as hard for *Vilboon* their Governour to get an *Indian* down to the water side, as it was for him to carry one of those great Guns upon his back to his Fort: for they having had Intelligence by a Prisoner out of *Boston* Goal,²⁵¹ that gave them an account of Maj. *Church* and his Forces coming out against them. Now having with a great deal of pains and trouble got all the Guns, Shot and other Stores aboard, intended on our design which we came out first for, but the Wind not serving, the Commander sent out his Scouts into the woods to seek for the Enemy, and four of our *Indians* come upon three *French* Men undiscovered, who concluded that if the *French* should discover them would fire at them and might kill one or more of them, which to prevent fired at the *French*, kill'd one and took the other two Prisoners; and it happen'd that he who was kill'd was *Shanelere*,²⁵² the Chief Man there &c. The same Day they mended their Whale-boats, and the Shallop which they took, fitting her to Row with Eight Oars, that she might be helpful to their Prosecuting their intended design against the Enemy in their returning homewards. Then the

partly because of its inherent weakness. be one of *Villeau's* men (see note 195, [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mass.* i: 352-6.] *ante*).

²⁵¹ There was hardly time for this to ²⁵² See note 248, *ante*.

Commander ordering all the Officers to come together, Inform'd them of his intentions and ordered that no Vessels should depart from the Fleet, but to attend the Motions of their Commadore, as formerly, except they were parted by Storms or thick Fogs, and if so it should happen that any did part, when they come to *Passamequady*,²⁵³ should stop there a while, for there they intended to stop, and do business with the help of their Boats against the Enemy, and if they mist that to stop at *Machias*; ²⁵⁴ which was the next place he intended to stop at, having an account by the Prisoners taken, That Mr. *Lateril*²⁵⁵ was there a trading with the *Indians* in that River: Encouraging them, said, He did not doubt but to have a good booty there; and if they should pass those two places, be sure not to go past *Naskege-point*,²⁵⁶ but to stop there, till he came, and not to depart thence in a Fortnight without his orders, having great Service to do in and about *Penobscot*, &c. Then the Major discoursed with Capt. *Brackit*,²⁵⁷ Capt. *Hunnewell*²⁵⁸ and Capt. *Larking*,²⁵⁹ [96] (with their Lieutenants) Commanders of the Forces belonging to the Eastward parts, who were to discourse their Souldiers about their proceeding, when they came to *Penobscot*; and the Major himself

²⁵³ The bay into which empties the St. Croix, the boundary between the United States and the British Provinces.

²⁵⁴ The next port westward.

²⁵⁵ Probably the Frenchman who is twice referred to subsequently (on p. 109 of the original paging) as "old *Lotriel*," and as being captured in the

fifth expedition, with his family, some of whom were reported to be drowned.

²⁵⁶ See note 225, *ante*.

²⁵⁷ See note 120, *ante*.

²⁵⁸ See note 157, *ante*.

²⁵⁹ There was a Samuel Larkin among the early inhabitants of Portsmouth, N.H.

was to difcourage his *Indian*-Souldiers, and their Captains; who with all the reft readily comply'd. The projection being fuch, That when they came to *Penobfcot* the Commander design'd to take what Provisions could be fpared out of all the Sloops, and put on board the two Briganteens,²⁶⁰ and to fend all the Sloops home with fome of the Officers and Men that wanted to be at home: and then with thofe Forces afore-mentioned (*to wit*) the Eaftward Men, and all the *Indians*; and to take what Provisions and Ammunition was needful, and to March with himfelf up into the *Penobfcot* Country, in fearch for the Enemy, and if poffible to take that Fort in *Penobfcot* River. Capt. *Brackit* informing the Major, That when the water was low they could waid over (which was at that time) the loweft that had been known in a long time. And being there to rang thro' that Country down to *Pemequid*, where he intended the two Briganteens fhould meet them; and from thence taking more Provisions (*viz.*) Bread, Salt & Ammunition fuitable (to fend thofe two Veffels home alfo) to travel thro' the Country to *Nerigiwock*,²⁶¹ and from thence to *Ameras cogen*-Fort, and fo down where the Enemy us'd to Plant, not doubting but that in all this Travel to meet with many of the Enemy before they fhould get to *Pifcataqua*. All which intentions were very acceptable to the

²⁶⁰ "*Brigantine*, — a fmall, flat, open, light vefel, going both with fails and oars, either for fighting or for giving chafe." — *Bailey*.

²⁶¹ *Norridgewock* (*Naranfouat*) is a

point in the bend of the *Kennebec* oppofite to the mouth of Sandy river, where was the ancient feat of the *Canibas* Indians. [Williamfon's *Hift. Me. i*: 467; *Father Druillettes's Journal*, 310.]

Forces that were to undertake it, who rejoicing, said, They had rather go home by Land than by Water, provided their Commander went with them: (who to try their fidelity) said, He was grown Ancient, and might fail them; They all said they would not leave him, and when he could not Travel any further, they would carry him. Having done what Service they could at and about the Mouth of St. John's River, Resolved on their intended design; and the next Morning having but little Wind, came all to Sail, the Wind coming against them they put into *Musquash* Cove,²⁶² and the next day the Wind still being against them, the Major with part of his Forces Landed, and employed themselves in ranging the Country for the Enemy, but to no purpose; and in the Night the wind came pretty fair, and at 12 a Clock they came to Sail, and had not been out long before they spy'd three Sail of Vessels; Expecting them to be *French*, fitted to defend themselves, so coming near, hail'd them: who found them to be a Man of War, the Province Galley, and old Mr. *Alden*²⁶³ in a Sloop, with more Forces, Col. *Hathorne*²⁶⁴ Commander. Maj. *Church* went aboard the

²⁶² The outlet of *Riviere de Mechecafcor*, the second stream coming into the bay W. of the St. John; which Haliburton's map names Musquash river, — which would seem to be a translation of found rather than of sense.

²⁶³ See note 133, *ante*.

²⁶⁴ *John Hathorne* (*Hathorn*, *Hawthorne*) was son of William, of Salem; born 4 Aug., 1641; freeman, 1677;

Deputy, 1683; Assistant or Counsellor, 1684–1712; Judge of Com. Pleas, 1692–1702; Judge of Supreme Court, 1702–15; Commissioner to Eastern Indians, and Commander, 1696; resigned his place on the bench on account of deafness, 1712; died 10 May, 1717, *æt.* 76. He had five sons. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 377; Washburn's *Judic. Hist. Mass.* 271.]

Commadore, where Col. *Hathrone* was, who gave him an account of his Commiffion & Orders, and read them to him. Then his Honour told Maj. *Church*, that there was a particular Order on board Capt. *Southack*²⁶⁵ for him: which is as followeth. [97]

Sir,

Boston, September. 9th. 1696.

HIs Majesties Ship Orford having lately surprized a French Shallop with twenty three of the Soldiers belonging to the Fort upon John's River in Nova-Scotia, together with Villeau their Captain, Providence seems to encourage the forming of an Expedition to attack that Fort, and to disress and remove the Enemy from that Post, which is the chief Scource from whence the most of our disasters do issue, and also to favour with an opportunity for gaining out of their hands the Ordnance, Artillery and other Warlike Stores and Provisions lately supplied to them from France, for erecting a new Fort near the Rivers mouth, whereby they will be greatly strengthened, and the reducing of them rendered more difficult. I have therefore ordered a Detachment of two new Companies consisting of about an Hundred Men

²⁶⁵ *Cyprian Southack* was commander of the Province galley; was with *Church* in his last Eastern Expedition, 1704; and went to Canada in 1714 on the *Stoddard* and *Williams* Expedition; lived on Tremont Street, which then embraced only that portion now included between School and Howard Streets; 19 Oct., 1733, was warned to secure "his hill near Valley acre, by

rails, or otherwise, that people may not be in danger." Valley acre was the hill just east of Beacon hill, occupying the space, nearly, of what is now Pemberton Square. Capt. *Southack's* hill probably adjoined his house, which seems to have stood not far from the present site of the *Albion*. [*Drake's Hist. Bost.* i: 529, 539, 593; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* v: 39.]

to joyn the Forces now with you for that Expedition, and have commiffionated Lieut. Colonel John Hathorne, one of the Members of His Majesties Council, who is acquainted with that River, and in whose courage and conduct I repose special Trust, to take the chief command of the whole during that Service, being well assured that your good affections and zeal for His Majesties Service will induce your ready compliance and assistance therein, which I hope will take up no long time, and be of great benefit and advantage to these His Majesties Territories if it please God to succeed the same. Besides its very probable to be the fairest opportunity that can be offered unto your self and Men, of doing Execution upon the Indian Enemy and Rebels, who may reasonably be expected to be drawn to the defence of that Fort. I have also ordered His Majesties Ship Arundel, and the Province-Gally to attend this Service.

Colonel Hathorne will communicate unto you the contents of his Commission and Instructions received from my self for this Expedition, which I expect and order that your self, Officers and Souldiers now under you yield obedience unto. He is to advise with your self and others in all weighty attempts. Praying for a Blessing from Heaven upon the said Enterprize, and that all engaged in the same may be under the special Protection of the Almighty. I am your Loving Friend,

Wm. STOUGHTON.

The Major having read his last Orders, and considering his Commission, found that he was oblig'd to attend, *All*

Orders, &c. was much concern'd that he and his were prevented in their intended projection, if carryed back to *St. John's*. Then discoursing with Col. *Hathorne*, gave him an account of what they had done at *St. John's*, viz. That as to the demolishing the New Fort they had done it, and got all their great Guns and Stores aboard their Vessels; and that if it had not been that the waters were so low would have taken the Fort up the River also before he came away. Told him also that one of the Prisoners which he had taken at *St. John's*, upon examination concerning the *Indians* in those parts, told him, it was as hard for *Vilboon* their Governour to get one of their *Indians* down to the water side, as to carry one of those great Guns upon his back: and that they had an account of him and his Forces coming to those parts by a Prisoner out of *Boston* Goal. Also [98] told his Honour, That if they went back it would wholly disappoint them of their doing any further Service, which was that they came for to *Penobscot*, and Places Adjacent; but all was to no purpose, his Honour telling the Major that he must attend his Orders then received. And to encourage the Officers and Souldiers, told them, They should be wholly at the Majors Ordering & Command in the whole action: (and to be short did go back) and the event may be seen in Col. *Hathron's* Journal of the said action.²⁶⁶ Only I must ob-

²⁶⁶ Church speaks as if *Hathorn's* Journal were public property; but I have not been able to find it. Mather sums up the issue thus: "But the Difficulty

of the *Cold Season* so discouraged our Men, that after the making of some few Shot, the Enterprize found itself under too much *Congelation* to proceed any

ferve one thing by the way, which was, That when they drew off to come down the River again, Col. *Hathorne* came off and left the Major behind to see that all the Forces were drawn off; and coming down the River in or near the Rear, in the Night heard a person hollow, not knowing at first but that it might be a snare to draw them into; but upon consideration sent to see who or what he was, found him to be a Negro man belonging to *Marblehead*, that had been taken, and kept a Prisoner amongst them for some time. The Major ask'd him, Whither he could give any account of the *Indians* in those parts? He said, Yes, they were or had been all drawn off from the Sea Coast up into the Woods near a hundred Miles having had an account by a Prisoner out of *Boston* Goal; that Maj. *Church* and his Forces were coming out against them

further." [*Magnalia*, Book VII: 90.] Hutchinſon ſays, "*Villebon* had timely notice of the return and re-enforcement, and made the beſt preparations he could for his defence. Four of the ſmall veſſels went up the river, and landed their men near the fort, October the 7th. They raiſed a battery for two field pieces, and began to fire with them and with their muſketry the ſame day; and the French made return. When night came on, which proved very cold, the Engliſh lighted their fires to keep them from periſhing. This made them a mark for the French cannon, which diſturbed them to that degree that they were obliged to put out their fires, and to be expoſed all night to the inclem-

ency of the weather. They were ſoon diſcouraged, for the next night they re-embarked; and having joined thoſe at the mouth of the river, made the beſt of their way to *Boston*. No notice was taken of any loſs on either ſide, except the burning a few of the enemy's houſes; nor is any ſufficient reaſon given for relinquishing the deſign ſo ſuddenly.

It is probable that the forces were not provided with tents nor cloathing ſufficient to defend them from the cold, which they had reaſon to expect to increaſe every day, and it is certain the old Colonel *Church* was offended at being ſuperſeded in command." [*Hiſt. Maſs.* ii: 94.]

in four Briganteens, & four Sloops, with 24 Peraougers,²⁶⁷ meaning Whale-boats, which put them into a fright, that notwithstanding they were so far up in the Woods were afraid to make fires by Day lest he and his Forces should discover the Smokes, and in the Night lest they should see the light. One thing more I would just give a hint of, that is, How the *French* in the Eastward parts were much surpriz'd at the motion of the Whale boats; said, There was no abiding for them in that Country: and I have been inform'd since, that soon after this Expedition, they drew off from St. John's Fort & River But to return, Then going all down the River, Embark'd and went homeward; only by the way *Candid Reader*, I would let you know of two things that proved very prejudicial to Major *Church* and his Forces: The first was, That the Government should miss it so much as to send any Prisoner away from *Boston* before the Expedition was over. Secondly, That they should send Col. *Hathrone* to take them from the Service & business they went to do: Who with submission, doubtless thought they did for the best, tho' it prov'd to the contrary. So shall wind up with just a hint of what happen'd at their coming home to *Boston*. After all their hard Service both Night & Day, the Government took away all the great Guns, and Warlike Stores, and gave them not a Penny for them, (except it was some Powder, and that they gave what they pleas'd for it) and beside the Assembly pass a Vote that they should have but half

²⁶⁷ *Pirogue*, boat of savages. — *Spiers and Surenne*.

pay. But his Honour the Lieut. Governour²⁶⁸ being much disturb'd at their so doing went in to the Town-House where the Representatives were fitting, and told them except they did Re-assume that Vote, which was to cut Maj. *Church* [99] and his Forces off half their pay, they should sit there till the next Spring. Whereupon it was Re-assumed: So that they had just their bare Wages. But as yet never had any Allowance for the great Guns and Stores; neither has Maj *Church* had any Allowance for all his Travel and great Expences in Raising the said Forces Volunteers.

The Fifth and Last Expedition, *East*.

IN the Year 1703, 4. Major *Church* had an account of the miserable Devestations made on *Deerfield*,²⁶⁹ a Town in the Westward parts of this Province, and the horrible Barbarities & Cruelties exercised on those poor Innocent People, (by the *French & Indians*) especially of their Cruelties towards that worthy Gentlewoman Mrs. *Williams*,²⁷⁰ and several others, whom they March'd in that

²⁶⁸ Lieut. Gov. William Stoughton. See note 191, *ante*.

²⁶⁹ *Deerfield* was destroyed 29 Feb., 1704; 38 were slain in the palisaded village and 9 in the meadow fight; and 112 were taken, of whom 2 soon escaped, 22 were slain or perished on their way to Canada, 28 remained in Canada, and 60 returned. A few of the captives

and of the slain — 8 or 9 of each — belonged to other towns. [Judd's *Hist. Hadley*, 272.] Church probably had forgotten the exact sequence of events when dictating this, as his letter to Gov. Dudley is dated 5 Feb., 1704 — 24 days before *Deerfield* fell.

²⁷⁰ Mrs. *Eunice Williams* was daughter of Rev. Eleazer Mather of North-

extream Seafon; forcing them to carry great loads, and when any of them by their hard ufage could not bare with it, were knock'd on the head, and fo kill'd in cool Bloud. All which with fome other horrible Inftances done by thofe Barbarous Salvages, which Maj. *Church* himfelf was an eye witnefs to in his former Travels in the Eaftward parts, did much aftonifh him. To fee a Woman that thofe Barbarous Salvages had taken and kill'd, expofed in a moft brutifh manner (as can be exprefs'd) with a Young Child feiz'd faft with ftrings to her breaft; which Infant had no apparent wound, which doubtlefs was left alive to fuck its dead Mothers Breaft, and fo miferably to perifh & dye. Alfo to fee other poor Children hanging upon Fences dead, of either Sex, in their own poor Rags, not worth their ftripping them of, in fcorn and derifion. Another Inftance was, of a ftragglng Souldier, who was found at *Cafco*, expos'd in a shameful and barbarous manner; his body being ftaked up, his head cut off, and a hogs head fet in the room, his body rip'd up, and his heart and inwards taken out, and private Members cut off, and hung with belts of their own, the inwards at one fide of his body, and his private at the other, in fcorn & derifion of the *English* Souldiers, &c. Thefe and fuch like Barbarities caufed Major *Church* to exprefs himfelf to this

ampton, and wife of Rev. John Williams of Deerfield (who was fon of Dea. Samuel, of Roxbury, who was eldeft fon of Robert); was married 21 July, 1687; taken captive, 29 Feb., 1704; was

murdered on the road to Canada on the fecond day's march by her Indian captor. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iv: 563; Holland's *Hift. Weft. Mafs.* i: 153; Hoyt's *Antiq. Refearches*, 190.]

purpose. That if he were Commander in Chief of these Provinces, he would soon put an end to those barbarities done by the Barbarous Enemy, by making it his whole business to fight and destroy those Salvages, as they did our poor Neighbours; which doubtless might have been done if rightly managed, and that in a short time &c. So that these with the late Inhumanities done upon the Inhabitants of *Deerfield*, made such an Impression on his heart as cannot well be expressed; so that his Blood boyl'd within him, making such Impulses on his Mind, that he forgot all former treatments, which were enough to hinder any Man especially the said Maj. *Church* from doing any further Service. Notwithstanding [100] all which, having a mind to take some Satisfaction on the Enemy, his heart being full. Took his Horse & went from his own Habitation near Seventy Miles,²⁷¹ to wait upon his Excellency, and offered his Service to the Queen, his Excellency & the Country; which his Excellency readily accepted of, and desired Maj. *Church* to draw a Scheme for the ensuing action or actions; so taking leave, went home, and drew it: which is as followeth.

²⁷¹ Church was now in the last year of his residence at Fall River (then Tiverton). [Part I. xxxiii.] This is by the present direct route scarcely more than 51 miles from Boston; and the more circuitous roads then existing could hardly bring it up to 70. I think Col. Church, when dictating this para-

graph, forgot that he had not, at the date here referred to, removed, as he did so soon after, back to Little Compton; or the Governor might have been absent from Boston fifteen or twenty miles northward, at that time, so as to have lengthened his journey by that much.

Tiverton, February 5. 1703, 4.

May it please your Excellency,

According to your request when I was last with your Self; and in obedience thereunto, I present you with these following lines, that concern the preparation for next Springs Expedition, to Attack the Enemy. According to my former Direction, for it is good to have a full stroke at them first, before they have opportunity to Run for it; for the first of our action will be our opportunity to destroy them, and to prevent their running away, in way-laying every passage; and make them know we are in good earnest, and so we being in a diligent use of means, we may hope for a blessing from the Almighty, and that He will be pleased to put a dread in their hearts, that they may fall before us and perish: For my advice is,

1st. That Ten or Twelve hundred good able Souldiers, well equip'd be in a readiness fit for action by the first of April at the furthest, for then will be time to be upon action.

2ly. That five & forty or fifty good Whale-boats be had ready, well fitted, with five good Oars, and 12 or 15 good Paddles to every Boat: And upon the Wail²⁷² of each Boat five pieces of strong Leather be fastened on each side to slip five small Ash bars thro', that so when ever they land the Men may step over-board, & slip in said bars a-crofs, and take up said Boat, that she may not be hurt against the Rocks. And that two suitable Brass Kittles be provided to

²⁷² The wale is the plank that rims and giving strength to its curves. — the outside of the boat, stiffening it, Totten.

belong to each Boat, to dress the Mens Victuals in, to make their Lives comfortable.

3ly. *That 4 or 500 pair of good Indian Shoes be made ready, fit for the Service, for the English & Indians, that must improve the Whale-boats, and Birch Canoo's, for they will be very proper, and safe for that Service; and let there be a good Store of Cow Hides, well Tann'd, for a supply of such Shoes; and Hemp to make Thread, and Wax, to mend & make more of such Shoes, when wanted, and a good store of Awls.*

4ly. *That there be a 100 large Hatchets²⁷³ or light Axes made pretty broad, & steeld with the best Steel that can be got, and made by workmen, that may cut very well, and hold, that the Hemlock knots may not brake nor turn them; to widden the landing places up the Falls, for it may happen that we may get up with some of our Whale-boats to their Falls or Head-quarters.*

5ly. *That there be a suitable quantity of small Bags, or Wollets provided, that every Man that wants may have one, to put up his Bullets in, of such a size as will fit his Gun, (and not served as at Calco.²⁷⁴) That every Mans bag be so Marked that he may not change it: for if so, it will make a great confusion in action; that every Mans store of Ball be weighed to him, that so he may be accountable, & may not squander it away; and also his store of Powder, that so he*

²⁷³ Our word "hatchet" comes from the diminutive of the French *hache*, a little axe. Very likely Church used the common Canadian name for what

he wanted to describe, so that this is not a misprint for "hatchets," but the plural of the French.

²⁷⁴ See p. 22, *ante*.

may try his Powder & Gun be [101] fore action. And that every particular Company may have a Barrel of Powder to themselves, and so marked that it by no means may be changed; that men may know before hand, and may not be cheated out of their Lives, by having bad Powder; Or not knowing how to use it: and this will prove a great advantage to the action.

6ly. *That Col John Gorham, if he may be prevailed with may be concerned in the management of the Whale-boats, he having been formerly concerned in the Eastern Parts, and experienced in that affair. And Whale-men then will be very serviceable in this Expedition, which having a promise made to them, that they shall be released in good season to go home a Whaling in the Fall; your Excellency will have men enough.*

7ly. *That there may be raised for this Service 300 Indians at least, & more if they may be had; for I know certainly of my own knowledge, that they exceed most of our English in hunting & sculking in the woods, being always us'd to it; and it must be practised if ever we intend to destroy those Indian Enemies.*

8ly. *That the Souldiers already out Eastward in the Service; By men of known judgment may take a survey of them and their Arms; and see if their Arms be good, and that they know how to use them, in shooting right at a Mark; and that they be men of good Reason & Sence, to know how to manage themselves in so difficult a piece of Service, as this Indian hunting is; for bad men are but a clogg and hindrance to*

an Army, being a trouble and vexation to good Commanders, and so many Mouths to devour the Countries Provision, and a hindrance to all good action.

9ly. *That special care be had in taking up the whale-boats, that they be good and fit for that Service; that so the Country be not cheated, as formerly, in having rotten-Boats; and as much care that the Owners may have good satisfaction for them.*

10ly. *That the Tenders or Transports, Vessels to be improved in this action be good Deck'd Vessels, not too big, because of going up several Rivers; having 4 or 6 small Guns a-piece for defence, and the fewer Men will defend them. And there is enough such Vessels to be had.*

11ly. *To conclude all, If your Excellency will be pleased to make your Self Great and us a happy People, as to the destroying of our Enemies, and easing of our Taxes, &c. be pleased to draw forth all those Forces now in Pay in all the Eastward Parts, both at Saco & Casco-Bay; for those two Trading-Houses never did any good, nor never will, and are not worthy the name of Queens Forts; and the first building of them, had no other Effect, but to lay us under Tribute to that wretched Pagan Crew; and I hope will never be wanted, for that they were first built for: but sure it is, they are very servicable to them, for they get many a good advantage of us to destroy our Men, and laugh at us for our folly, that we should be at so much cost & trouble to do a thing that does us so much harm, and no manner of good: but to the contrary, when they see all our Forces drawn*

forth, and in the pursuit of them, They will think that we begin to be rouzed up and to be awake, and will not be satisfied with what they have pleas'd to leave us, but are resolv'd to Retake from them, that they formerly took from us, and drive them out of their Country also. The which being done, then to build a Fort at a suitable time and in a convenient place; and it [102] will be very honourable to your Excellency & of great Service to Her Majesty, & to the enlargement of her Majesty's Government: (The Place meant being at Port Royal.)

12ly. That the objection made against drawing off the Forces in the Eastward Parts will be no damage to the inhabitants; for former Experience teacheth us, that so soon as drawn into their Country they will presently forsake ours to take care of their own: And that there be no failure in making preparation of these things afore-mentioned, for many times the want of small things, prevent the compleating of great Actions; and that every thing be in a readyness before the Forces be rais'd, to prevent Charges; and the Enemy having Intelligence: And that the General Court be moved to make suitable Acts, for the encouraging both English & Indians; that so men of business may freely offer Estates and Concerns to Serve the Publick.

This hoping what I have taken the pains to Write in the sincerity of my heart and good affection, will be well accepted; I make bold to subscribe, as I am your Excellency's most Devoted and Humble Servant,

Benjamin Church.

Then returning to his Excellency presented the said Scheme, which his Excellency approv'd of; and return'd it again to Maj. *Church* and desired him to see that every thing was provided telling him that he should have an Order from the Commissary General to proceed. Then returned home and made it his whole business to provide Oars and Paddles and a Vessel to carry them round; and then return'd again to his Excellency, who gave him a Commission: which is as followeth.

JOSEPH DUDLEY Esq; ²⁷⁵ *Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over Her Majesty's Provinces of the Massachusetts-Bay & New-Hampshire in New-England in America, and Vice Admiral of the same.*

To Benjamin Church Esqr; Greeting.

‘**B**Y Virtue of the Power & Authority in & by her Majesty’s Royal Commission to me granted I do by these presents, Reposing special Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct, Constitute and Appoint you to be Colonel of all the Forces raised and to

²⁷⁵ *Joseph Dudley* was son of Gov. Thomas, of Roxbury; freeman, 1672; Deputy, 1673-5; Artillery Company, 1677; Assistant, 1676-85; went to England in 1682; President of the Colonies of Mass. and N. Hamp., 1686; was of Andros’s Council, and Chief Justice of the unconstitutional Supreme Court; was imprisoned here; went to England in 1689; was Deputy Governor of the

Isle of Wight eight years; came home 1702, as Governor of Mass. Col., which place he filled until Nov. 1715; died 2 April, 1720. His wife was Rebecca, dau. of Edward Tyng; they had Thomas, Edward, Joseph, Paul, Samuel, John, Rebecca, Catharine, Ann, William, Daniel, Catharine, and Mary. [*Savage’s Gen. Dict.* ii: 76; *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* i: 71.]

‘ be raised for Her Majesty’s Service against the *French &*
 ‘ *Indian* Enemy and Rebels, that shall be improved in the
 ‘ Service to the *Eastward* of *Casco-Bay*; And to be Cap-
 ‘ tain of the first Company of the said Forces. You are
 ‘ therefore carefully and diligently to perform the Duty of
 ‘ a Colonel and Captain, by Leading, Ordering & Exer-
 ‘ cising the said Regiment & Company in Arms, both In-
 ‘ ferious Officers & Souldiers; and to keep them in good
 ‘ Order and Discipline. Hereby commanding them to
 ‘ Obey you as their Colonel and Captain; And with them
 ‘ to do and Execute all acts of hostility against the said
 ‘ Enemy & Rebels. And you are to observe & follow
 ‘ such Orders and Directions as you shall receive from my
 ‘ Self or other your Superiour Officer, according to the
 ‘ Rules & Discipline of War, pursuant to the Trust reposed
 ‘ in you. Given under my Hand & Seal at Arms at *Boston*
 ‘ the 18th day of *March*. In the Third Year of Her Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Reign. *Anno Dom.* 1703, 4.

By his Excellency’s Command, Isaac Addington Secr.

J. DUDLEY. [103]

Col. *Church* no sooner received his Commission, but proceeded to the raising of Men Volunteers, by going into every Town within the three Counties which was formerly *Plymouth* Government;²⁷⁶ advising with the Chief Officer

²⁷⁶ When *Plymouth* Colony was merged in *Massachusetts*, in 1692, it comprised *Plymouth* County (including *Plymouth*, *Duxbury*, *Scituate*, *Marshfield*, *Bridgewater*, *Middleborough*, and

Accord Pond plantation [Abington]); *Bristol* County (including *Taunton*, *Rehoboth*, *Dartmouth*, *Swansea*, *Bristol*, *Little Compton*, *Freetown*, and *Pocasset* [Tiverton]); and *Barnstable* County

of each Company, to call his Company together, that so he might have the better opportunity to discourse & encourage them to Serve their Queen and Country; treating them with Drink convenient; told them he did not doubt but with God's blessing to bring them all home again; all which, with many other arguments animated their hearts to do Service, so that Col. *Church* enlisted out of some Companies near 20 Men, & others 15. He having raised a sufficient number of *English* Souldiers, proceeded to the enlisting of *Indians* in all those parts where they dwelt, which was a great fatigue & expence; being a People that need much treating, especially with Drink &c. Having enlisted the most of his Souldiers in those parts, who daily lay upon him; was not less than 5 *l. per* day expences, some days, in Victuals & Drink; who doubtless thought (especially the *English*) that the Country would have re-imburst it again, otherways they would hardly accepted it of him. Col. *Church's* Souldiers both *English* and *Indians* in those parts being raised, March'd them all down to *Nantasket*,²⁷⁷ according to his Excellency's directions; where being came, the following Gentlemen were Commiffionated to be Commanders of each particular Company, *viz* Lieut. Col. *Gorham*, Captains *John Brown*,²⁷⁸

(including Barnstable, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Eastham, Rochester, Falmouth, Mashpee, and Monamoy or Chatham). [Baylies's *Plym. Col.* Part IV: 97.]

²⁷⁷ *Nantasket* was what is now Hull, accessible by land over the neck which unites it to Hingham and Cohasset, and

favorably situated toward Boston harbor — of whose entrance its Point Allerton is one of the gateposts — for the embarkation of troops.

²⁷⁸ *John Brown* was "approved as Captain of the town of Swansey, 4 June, 1686." [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 189.]

Constant Church,²⁷⁹ *James Cole*,²⁸⁰ *John Dyer*,²⁸¹ *John Cook*, *Caleb Williamson*²⁸² and *Edward Church*,²⁸³ of the Forces raised by Col. *Church*, each Company being filled up with *English & Indians* as they agreed among themselves, and by the Colonel's directions; Capt. *Lamb*,²⁸⁴ and Capt. *Miricks*²⁸⁵ Company, who were raised by his Excellency's direction, were ordered to joyn those aforesaid under the Command of Col. *Church*. Matters being brought thus far on, Col. *Church* waited upon his Excellency at *Boston* to know his pleasure, what further measures were to be taken; and did humbly move that they might have liberty in their Instructions to make an Attack upon *Port Royal*.²⁸⁶ Being very well satisfied in his opinion, that with the blessing of God, with what Forces they had or should have; and Whale-boats so well fitted with Oars & Pad-

²⁷⁹ See references to his name in the Index of Part I.

²⁸⁰ *James Cole* was admitted freeman of Swansea, 1682; Ensign, 1686: Lieutenant, 1689; Deputy, 1690. [*Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 86, 189, 223, 240.]

²⁸¹ I cannot certainly identify this captain; nor *Cook*, next named.

²⁸² *Caleb Williamson*, of Barnstable, was perhaps son of Timothy of Marthfield; married Mary Cobb; had Mary, William, Timothy, Sarah, Ebenezer, Mercy, and Martha. He removed to Hartford, Conn., where he died 24 Dec., 1738, *et. 87*. [*Savage's Gen. Dict.* iv: 572.]

²⁸³ [See Part I. xlv.]

²⁸⁴ Col. *Joshua Lamb*, son of Thomas of Roxbury, in 1713, one of the first

proprietors of Leicester? [Barry's *Hist. Framingham*, 311; Washburn's *Hist. Leicester*, 9, 10.]

²⁸⁵ There was an *Isaac Mirick*, son of James of Newbury, who was now, if alive, near 40 years old; having been born 6 Jan., 1665. [Coffin's *Hist. Newbury*, 310.] This captain's name further on is seen to have been Isaac (p. 119, orig. paging.)

²⁸⁶ *Port Royal* was a fort upon the inlet of that name almost due south from the outlet of the St. John, across the Bay of Fundy, which is here some two leagues wide. It was named by *De Monts*, and was exceedingly difficult of access because of the narrowness of the mouth of the bay; only one ship being able to enter at a time, and

dles, as they had with them, might be sufficient to have taken it. His Excellency (looking upon Col *Church*) replied, He could not admit of that, by reason he had by the advice of Her Majesty's Council writ to Her Majesty about the taking of *Port Royal* Fort, and how it should be disposed of when taken, &c. However Col. *Church* proceeding to get every thing ready for the Forces down at *Nantasket*, which was the place of Parade. He happening one day to be at Capt. *Belchers*,²⁸⁷ where his Excellency happened to come; who was pleased to order Col. *Church* to put on his Sword, and walk with him up the Common; which he readily complied with: where being come, he saw two Mortar pieces with Shells, and an Engineer trying with them, to throw a Shell from them to any [104] spot of ground where he said it should fall: Which when Col. *Church* had seen done, gave him great encouragement & hopes that it would promote their going to *Port Royal*, which he had solicited for; and returning from thence after they had seen them try'd by the said Engineer, and performing what was proposed. Coming near to Capt. *William Clarks*²⁸⁸-house over against the

that stern foremost, and with great precautions. [Champlain's *Voyages*, 21; Shea's *Charlevoix*, i: 253.]

²⁸⁷ *Andrew Belcher* (Part I. notes 52 and 138) was son of Andrew, of Sudbury and Cambridge; lived first at Hartford, then at Charlestown, and then at Boston; freeman, 1677; of Com. of Safety in the Andros Infurrection; Counsellor, 1702, to his death, 31 Oct.,

1717. He married Sarah, dau. of Jonathan Gilbert, of Hartford; had Andrew, Deborah, Deborah, Mary, Ann, Martha, Elizabeth, and Jonathan, the Governor. He was a "very rich and leading man in the town." [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 156. Drake's *Hist. Bost.* i: 539.]

²⁸⁸ *William Clarke* was "of North Boston" in 1699, and one of the peti-

Horfe-shoe,²⁸⁹ his Excellency was invited by Capt. *Clark* to walk over and take a Glaſs of Wine; which he was pleaſed to accept of, and took Col. *Church* with him; and in the time they were taking a Glaſs of Wine, Col. *Church* once more preſumed to ſay to his Excellency; Sir, I hope that now we ſhall go to *Port Royal* in order to take it; thoſe Mortars being very ſuitable for ſuch an Enterprize. His Excellency was pleas'd to reply; Col. *Church* you muſt ſay no more of that matter, for the Letter I told you of I writ by the advice of her Maſteſty's Council, now lyes at home on the board before the Lords Commiſſioners of her Maſteſty's foreign Plantations, &c. After ſome days every thing being ready to Embark, Col. *Church* received his Inſtructions: which are as followeth.

By his Excellency JOSEPH DUDLEY Eſq; Captain General and Governour in Chief in and over Her Maſteſty's Province of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, &c. in New-England, and Vice Admiral of the ſame.

Instructions for Colonel Benjamin Church in the preſent Expedition.

‘**I**N Purſuance of the Commiſſion given you to take the
 ‘ Chief Command of the Land and Sea Forces by me
 ‘ raiſed, equipped and ſet forth on Her Maſteſties Service,

tioners for a bankrupt law “as in England”; conſtable, 1700; 1711, a “ſearcher” for provisions for Hovenden Walker’s Canada fleet; 1722, was one of the purchaſers of pews in Chriſt’s

Church. [Drake’s *Hiſt. Boſt.* i: 518, 521, 540, 567; Snow’s *Hiſt. Boſt.* 220.]

²⁸⁹ The “Horſe-shoe” was a tavern, believed to have been at the North End.

‘ against her open declared Enemies the *French*, and *Indian* Rebels. You are to Observe the following Instructions.

‘ First. You are to take care, That the duties of Religion be attended on board the several Vessels, and in the several Company’s under your Command, by daily Prayers unto God, and Reading his holy word; And that the Lords Day be observed & duly Sanctified to the utmost of your power, as far as the circumstances and the necessity of the Service can admit; that so you may have the presence of God with, and obtain His Blessing on your Undertaking.

‘ You are to take care, That your Souldiers have their due allowance of Provisions & other necessaries; That their Arms be well fixt, and kept fit for Service, and that they be furnished with a suitable Quantity of Powder and Ball, and be alwayes in readines to pass upon duty.

‘ That good Order & Discipline be maintained; And all disorders, drunkenness, prophane Swearing, Cursing, Omission or neglect of Duty, disobedience to Officers, Mutiny, Desertion, and Sedition be duly punished according to the Rules & Articles of War; The which you are, once a Month or oftner, to cause to be published & made known to your Officers and Souldiers for their Observance & Direction in their duty. Let notorious & Capital Offenders be sent away to the next Garisons, there to be Imprisoned until they can be proceeded with. [105]

‘ Let the Sick and wounded be carefully look’d after,

‘and accommodated after the best manner your circumstances will admit of, and be sent either to *Casco Fort*, or to Mr. *Peperels*²⁹⁰ at *Kittery*, which may be easiest, so soon as you can.

‘You are forthwith to send away the Forces & Stores by the Transports, with the Whale-boats to *Piscataqua*, on *Kittery* side, there to attend your coming; whither you are to follow them with all Expedition.

‘You are to Embark on the Province Galley, Capt. *Southack* Commander, And let Lieut Col. *Gorham* go on board Capt. *Gallop*,²⁹¹ who are both directed to attend your Motion on the *French* side; after which they are to return. Let the Commanders of all the Store Sloops & Transports know that they Sail, Anchor and Serve at your direction.

‘When you Sail from *Piscataqua*, keep at such distance off the Shoar, that you be not observed by the Enemy to Alarm them. Stop at *Montinicus*,²⁹² and there Embark the Forces in the Whale-boats for the Main, to range that part of the Country, in search of the Enemy, to Mount *Defart*; sending the Vessels to meet you there; and after having refreshed & recruited your Souldiers,

²⁹⁰ *William Pepperell* was a native of Cornwall, Eng.; emigrated to the Isles of Shoals, 1676; thence removed to Kittery point, Me., where he carried on a large fishery; was a distinguished merchant and magistrate, and died 15 Feb., 1734, *æt.* 85. He married Margaret, dau. of John Bray, of Kittery; had Andrew, Mary, Margery, Joanna, Meriam, Dorothy, Jane, and

[Sir] William. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* iii. 392; Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 687.]

²⁹¹ *Samuel Gallop*, son of Samuel, and grandson of John, of Boston?

²⁹² *Matinicus* is an island off the coast of Maine, early inhabited; containing 750 acres. It is 17 miles S. E. of Owl's Head (Thomaston), and 10 E. of *Metinic*. [Williamson's *Hist. Me.* i: 63.]

‘ proceed to *Machias*, and from thence to *Passamequado*;
 ‘ And having Effected what spoils you possibly may upon
 ‘ the Enemy in those parts, Embark on your Vessels for
 ‘ *Menis* and *Signecto*, touching at *Grand Manan*, if you
 ‘ see cause, and from *Menis* & *Signecto* to *Port Royal Gut*;
 ‘ And use all possible Methods for the burning and destroy-
 ‘ ing of the Enemies Housing, and breaking the Dams of
 ‘ their Corn grounds in the said several places, and make
 ‘ what other Spoils you can upon them, and bring away
 ‘ the Prisoners. In your return call at *Penobscot*, and do
 ‘ what you can there, and so proceed Westward.

‘ This will probably imploy you a Month or Six Weeks;
 ‘ when you will draw together again, and by the latter end
 ‘ of *June* consider whither you can march to *Norrigwack*,
 ‘ or other parts of their Planting to destroy their Corn &
 ‘ Settlements: And keep the Expedition on foot until the
 ‘ middle of *August* next.

‘ Notwithstanding the particularity of the afore-going
 ‘ Instruction, I lay you under no restraint, because I am
 ‘ well assured of your Courage, Care, Caution and Industry;
 ‘ But refer you to your own Resolves, by the Advice of
 ‘ your Commission Officers, not under the degree of Cap-
 ‘ tain’s, and the Sea-Commission Captains (whom you will,
 ‘ as often as you can, Advise with) according to the Intel-
 ‘ ligence you may receive, or as you may find needful upon
 ‘ the Spot.

‘ You are by every opportunity, and once a Week cer-
 ‘ tainly, by some means, either by way of *Casco*, *Piscata-*

‘*qua*, or otherwise to acquaint me of your proceedings
 ‘and all occurrents, and what may be further necessary for
 ‘the Service. And to observe such further & other In-
 ‘structions as you shall receive from my Self. [106]

‘As often as you may, Advise with Capt. *Smith*²⁹³ and
 Capt. *Rogers*²⁹⁴ Commanders of Her Majesty’s Ships.

‘Let your Minister, Commissary & Surgeons be treated
 ‘with just respects.

‘I Pray to God to preserve, prosper and succeed you.

‘Given under my hand at *Boston*, the Fourth Day of
 ‘*May*, 1704. *J. DUDLEY.*

Pursuant to his Instructions he sent away his Transports,
 and Forces to *Piscataqua*, but was oblig’d himself to wait
 upon his Excellency by Land to *Piscataqua* in order to
 raise more Forces, in the way thither; and did raise a
 Company under the Command of Capt. *Harridon*;²⁹⁵ taking
 care also to provide a Pilot for them in the *Bay of Fundee*:
 Col. *Church* being directed to one — *Fellows*,²⁹⁶ whom
 he met with at *Ipswich*. And going from thence to *Pif-*

²⁹³ *Thomas*, commander of the frigate *Ferfey*. [Drake’s *Church* (ed. 1827), 257.]

²⁹⁴ *George*, commander of the frigate *Goffport*. [*Ibid.*]

²⁹⁵ *John Haraden* (*Harradin*, *Harrendine*) was son of Edward, who went to Gloucester from Ipswich 1657; he led a maritime life; 1709, was master of a sloop fitted out to capture a French privateer; 1711, he was pilot of ship

“Montague” in the expedition to Canada, for which service he received an allowance from the General Court, 1714; died 11 Nov., 1724. He married Sarah Giddings, by whom he had several children. [Babson’s *Hist. Gloucester*, 98.]

²⁹⁶ *William Fellows* was one of the first settlers of Ipswich, and left a large family, from which this pilot was probably descended. [Felt’s *Hist. Ipswich*, 11.]

cataqua with his Excellency, was there met by that worthy Gentleman Maj. *Winthrop Hilton*,²⁹⁷ who was very helpful to him in the whole Expedition, whose Name & Memory ought not to be forgot. Being ready to Embark from *Piscataqua*; Col. *Church* requested the Commanders of her Majesty's Ships, Capt. *Smith* & Capt. *Rogers* to tarry at *Piscataqua* a Fortnight, that so they might not be discovered by the Enemy before he had done some spoil upon them. Then moving in their Transports, as directed, Got safe into *Montinucus* undiscovered by the Enemy. Next Morning early fitted out two Whale boats with men, Capt. *John Cook* in one, and Capt. *Constant Church* in the other; and sent them to Green-Island²⁹⁸ upon a discovery; and coming there they parted, one went to one part, and the other to the other part, that so they might not miss of what could be discovered; where they met with old *Lafaure*²⁹⁹ with his two Sons *Thomas* & *Timothy*, and a *Canada Indian*. The Enemy seeing that they were discovered, threw down their Ducks and Eggs, who had got a con-

²⁹⁷ *Winthrop Hilton* was son of Edward of Exeter, and grandson of Edward of Dover; born about 1671; was the leading military man of the Province; 1706, was made Judge of Com. Pleas, which office he held to his death; was appointed Counsellor, but was killed by the Indians, 23 June, 1710, in that part of Exeter which is now Epping. He married Ann Wilfon, who afterwards married Col. Jonathan Wadleigh. They had Judith, Ann, Deb-

orah, Elizabeth, Bridget, and Winthrop. [*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* vii: 51.]

²⁹⁸ There are two "Green" islands N. E. of *Matinicus*, and near to it, each of 2 or 3 acres only.

²⁹⁹ Penhallow calls him "*Monsieur Lafebure*, and his two sons, with a *Canada Indian*." [*Indian Wars* (ed. 1859), 28.] Church himself calls him *Le Faver*, further on (p. 110, old paging).

considerable quantity of each, and ran to their Canoo's, getting into them, stood directly for the Maine; looking behind them, perceived the Whale-boats to gain so fast upon them, clapt side by side and all four got into one Canoo, which prov'd of little advantage to them, for the Whale boats gained so much upon them, and got so near that Capt. *Cook* firing at the Stores-man³⁰⁰ which was the *Indian*, & happen'd to graze his skull, and quite spoil'd his Paddling: upon which old *Lafaure* and Sons seeing their companions condition soon beg'd for quarter, and had it granted: the two Captains with their success presently return'd to their Commander, taking care that their Captives should not discourse together before they were examined; when brought to Col. *Church*, he order'd them to be apart; and first proceeded to examine old *Lafaure*, who he found to be very surly & cross, so that he could gain no manner of intelligence by him; upon which the Commander was resolv'd to put in practice what he had formerly done at *Segneflo*;³⁰¹ ordering his *Indians* to make two large heaps of dry wood at some distance one from the other, and to set a large stake in the ground close to [107] each heap; then ordered the two Sons *Thomas* & *Timothy* to be brought and bound to the Stakes; also ordering his *Indians* to paint themselves with colours which they had brought for that use. Then he Colonel proceeded to examine first *Timothy*; and told him, He

³⁰⁰ Steersman; i.e., the paddler in the stern of the canoe.

³⁰¹ Stiles and Southwick reprint this *Seneflo*.

had examin'd his Father already; and that if he told him the truth he would save his Life, and take him into his Service; and that he should have good pay & live well. He answer'd, That he would tell him the truth; and gave him an account of every thing he knew; which was all Minuted down: He being ask'd whither his Brother *Thomas* did not know more than he? His answer was, Yes. For his Brother *Thomas* had a Commission sent him from the Governour of *Canada*, to Command a Company of *Indians* who were gathered together at a Place where some French Gentlemen lately arrived from *Canada*, who were Officers to Command the rest that were to go Westward to fight the *English*, and that there was sent to his Father and Brother *Tom*, a considerable quantity of Flower, Fruit, Ammunition and Stores, for the supply of the said Army. He being ask'd, Whither he could Pilot our Forces to them? said, No: But his Brother *Tom* could, for he had hid it and that he was not then with him. The Colonel ask'd him, What Gentlemen those were that came from *Canada*? He answered Monsieur *Gordan*,³⁰² and Mr. *Sharkee*.³⁰³ Being ask'd where they were? Answered at *Passamequado*; building a Fort there. Being also ask'd, What number of *Indians* and *French*

³⁰² Penhallow (ed. 1859, p. 29) makes this *Guorden*; Stiles and Southwick make it *Gourdan*; and Church, when referring (p. 110, old paging) to his capture, does the same. The name was probably *Gourdon*. [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mafs.* ii: 133.]

³⁰³ Penhallow says *Sharkee* (his name seems to have been *Chartiers* [Hutchinson's *Hist. Mafs.* ii: 133]) was taken prisoner by this expedition; which, it will be seen further on, is an error, Col. Church having "miffed" him on this foray. [*Indian Wars*, 29.]

there were at *Penobscot*? He answered, there were several Families, but they liv'd scattering. Ask'd him further, If he would Pilot our Forces thither? Answered, He would if the Commander would not let the Salvages Rost him. Upon which the Colonel ordered him to be loosed from the Stake, and took him by the hand, told him, He would be as kind to him as his own Father; at which he seemed to be very thankful. And then the Colonel proceeded to examine his Brother *Tom*, and told him that he had examined his Father and Brother, and that his Brother had told him every tittle he knew; and that he knew more than his Brother *Timothy* did; and that if he would be Ingenious & confess all he knew, he should fare as well as his Brother, but if not, the Salvages should Rost him. Whereupon he solemnly promised that he would; and that he would Pilot him to every thing he knew, to the value of a Knife and Sheafe (which without doubt he did.) Then the Colonel immediately gave orders for the Whale-boats to be ready, and went directly over where the said Goods & Stores were, and found them as inform'd, took them on board the Boats, and returned to their Transports; and ordering Provisions to be put into every Mans Sack for 6 or 8 days; so in the dusk of the Evening left their Transports, with Orders how they should act; and went directly for the Mainland of *Penobscot*, and Mouth of that River with their Pilots *Tom* & *Timothy*, who carried them directly to every Place & Habitation both of *French* & *Indians* thereabouts, with the assistance of one *De*

[108] *Young*,³⁰⁴ whom they carried out of *Bofton* Goal for the fame purpofe, who was very ferviceable to them: being there we kill'd and took every one both *French & Indians*, not knowing that any one did efcape in all *Penobfcot*; among thofe that were taken was *St. Cafteens* Daughter, who faid that her Husband was gone to *France*, to her Father *Monfieur Cafteen*:³⁰⁵ She having her Children with her, the Commander was very kind to her and them. All the Prifoners that were then taken, held to one Story in general, which they had from *Lafauze's* Sons; that there were no more *Indians* there-about, but enough of them at *Paffamequado*; upon which they foon return'd to their Tranfports with their Prifoners & Plunder. The Commander giving order immediately for the Souldiers in the Whale-boats to have a recruit of Provifions for a further purfuit of the Enemy, giving orders to the Tranfports to ftay a few days more there, and then go to Mount *Defart* (and there to ftay for her Majesty's Ships, who were directed to come thither) and there to wait his further order. Then Col. *Church* with his Forces immediately imbarc'd on board their Whale-boats, & proceeded to fcour the Coaft, and to try if they could difcover any of the Enemy coming from *Paffamequado*; making their ftops in the day time (at all the Points & Places where they were certain

³⁰⁴ Penhallow (orig. ed. 17) has this name *D'Young*; which in the reprint of the New Hampshire Historical Society (*Collections*, i: 33), and in the Cincinnati reprint of 1859, is made

D. Young. The man was doubtlefs a French Canadian prifoner; probably one of *Villeau's* men. [See note 195, *ante*.]

³⁰⁵ See note 34, *ante*.

the Enemy would Land, or come by with their Canoo's) and at Night to their Paddles. Then coming near where the Vessels were ordered to come, having made no discovery of the Enemy, went directly to Mount *Desart*, where the Transports were just come; and taking some Provisions for his Souldiers, gave direction for the Ships & Transports in 6 days to come directly to *Passamequado*, where they should find him & his Forces. Then immediately mov'd away in the Whale-boats & made diligent search along shore, as formerly, inspecting all Places where the Enemy was likely to lurk: Particularly at *Machias*; but found neither Fires nor Tracks. Coming afterwards to the West Harbour at *Passamequado*, where they entred upon action; an account whereof Col. *Church* did communicate to his Excellency, being as followeth.

May it please your Excellency,

I Received Yours of this Instant *Octob. 9th.* with the
 'two inclosed Informations, that concern my actions
 'at *Passamequado*; which I will give a just and true account of as near as possible I can (*viz*) on the *7th* of *June*
 'last 1704. In the evening we entred in at the Westward
 'Harbour at said *Passamequado*;³⁰⁶ coming up said Harbour to an Island,³⁰⁷ where landing, we came to a French

³⁰⁶ There are three passages into Passamaquoddy bay, the western, the middle or ship channel, and the eastern. The western is that first reached in coasting from Machias, and lies between

west Quoddy head and the island of *Campo-bello*.

³⁰⁷ *Moosé* island, on which Eastport now stands? The lay of the land suggests that it might be that.

‘house, and took a French Woman, and Children, the
 ‘Woman upon her Examination said, her Husband was
 ‘abroad a Fishing I ask’d her, whither there were any
 ‘*Indians* thereabouts? She said, Yes. There were a
 ‘great many, and several on that Island. I ask’d her,
 ‘whither she could Pilot me to them? Said, No. They
 ‘hid in the Woods. I ask’d her, when she saw them?
 ‘Answered, Just now, or a little while since. I ask’d [109]
 ‘her, whether she knew where they had laid their Canoo’s?
 ‘Answered, No. They carried their Canoo’s into the
 ‘woods with them. We then hastened away a-long shore,
 ‘seizing what Prisoners we could, taking old *Lotriel*³⁰⁸ and
 ‘his Family. This intelligence caus’d me to leave Col.
 ‘*Gorham*, and a considerable part of my Men (and Boats)
 ‘with him at that Island, partly to guard and secure those
 ‘Prisoners, being sensible it would be a great trouble to
 ‘have them to secure and guard at our next landing, where
 ‘I did really expect, and hope to have an opportunity, to
 ‘fight our *Indian* Enemies; for all our French Prisoners,
 ‘that we had taken at *Penobscot*, and a-long shore had in-
 ‘formed us, That when we came to the Place, where these
 ‘*Canada* Gentlemen lived, we should certainly meet with
 ‘the Salvages to fight us, those being the only Men that
 ‘set the *Indians* against us, or upon us, and were newly
 ‘come from *Canada*, to manage the War against us (plead-
 ‘ing in this account and information their own Innocency)
 ‘and partly in hopes that he the said Col. *Gorham* would

³⁰⁸ See note 255, *ante*.

‘ have a good opportunity in the Morning to destroy some
 ‘ of those our Enemies, (we were informed by the said
 ‘ French Woman as above,) with the use of his Boats, as
 ‘ I had given direction. Ordering also Maj. *Hilton*, to pass
 ‘ over to the next Island, that lay East of us³⁰⁹ (with a small
 ‘ Party of Men and Boats) to surprize & destroy any of the
 ‘ Enemy, that in their Canoo’s might go here or there,
 ‘ from any place, to make their flight from us, and as he
 ‘ had opportunity to take any *French* Prisoners. We then
 ‘ immediately moved up the River in the dark Night thro’
 ‘ great difficulty, by reason of the Eddys and Whirlpools,
 ‘ made with the fierceness of the current.³¹⁰ And here it
 ‘ may be hinted that we had information that *Lotriel* had
 ‘ lost some of his Family passing over to the next Island,
 ‘ falling into one of these Eddys were drowned; which the
 ‘ two Pilots told to discourage me. But I said nothing of
 ‘ that nature shall do it; for I was resolved to venture up,
 ‘ and therefore forthwith Paddling our Boats, as privately
 ‘ as we could, and with as much expedition as we could
 ‘ make with our Paddles, and the help of a strong Tide, we
 ‘ came up to Monsieur *Gourdans*, a little before day; where
 ‘ taking notice of the Shoar, and finding it somewhat open
 ‘ and clear, I ordered Capt. *Mirick* and Capt. *Cole*, (having
 ‘ English Companies) to tarry with several of the Boats to
 ‘ be ready, that if any of the Enemy should come down

³⁰⁹ Deer island?

³¹⁰ The tide rises here from 24 to 28 feet, and, except at favorable hours, the rush of waters coming down through

these narrow inlets from the *Schoodic* or *St. Croix* river makes “eddy,” “whirlpools,” and “a fierce current,” as Church describes it.

‘out of the brush into the Bay, (it being very broad in
‘that place)³¹¹ with their Canoo’s, they might take and
‘destroy them. Ordering the remainder of the Army,
‘being landed,³¹² (with my self and the other Officers)
‘to March up into the Woods, with a wide Front, and
‘to keep at a considerable distance; for that if they should
‘run in heaps, the Enemy would have the greater advan-
‘tage: and further directing them that if possible, they
‘should destroy the Enemy with their Hatches, and not
‘fire a Gun. This order I always gave at landing, tell-
‘ing them the inconveniency of firing, in that it might be
‘first dangerous [110] to themselves, they being many of
‘them Young Souldiers, (as I had sometimes observed,
‘that one or two Guns being fired, many others would
‘fire, at they knew not what; as happened presently after)
‘and it would alarm the Enemy, and give them the oppor-
‘tunity to make their escape; and it might alarm the whole
‘Country, and also prevent all further action from taking
‘effect Orders being thus passed, we moved directly
‘towards the Woods, *Le Faver’s* Son directing us to a
‘little Hutt or Wigwam, which we immediately sur-
‘rounded with a few Men, the rest Marching directly up
‘into the Woods, to see what Wigwams or Hutts they
‘could discover; my self made a little stop, Ordering the
‘Pilot to tell them in the Hutt, that they were surrounded

³¹¹ They had now emerged from the narrow western entrance into upper Passamaquoddy bay, which is some 8 or 10 miles in width.

³¹² They must have landed upon what is now the town of Perry, Me.; or possibly further up, in Robbinston, or the lower part of Calais.

‘ with an Army, and that if they would come forth, and
 ‘ furrender themselves, they should have good quarter, but
 ‘ if not, they should be all knock’d on the head and die:
 ‘ One of them shewed himself, I ask’d, Who he was? He
 ‘ said *Gourdan*; and begg’d for quarter: I told him he
 ‘ should have good quarter; adding further, That if there
 ‘ were any more in the house they should come out: Then
 ‘ came out two men; *Gourdan* said, They were his Sons,
 ‘ and asked quarter for them, which was also granted.
 ‘ Then came out a Woman, and a little Boy; she fell upon
 ‘ her knees, begg’d quarter for her self and Children, and
 ‘ that I would not suffer the *Indians* to kill them. I told
 ‘ them they should have good quarter and not be hurt.
 ‘ After which I ordered a small guard over them, and so
 ‘ mov’d presently up with the rest of my Company, after
 ‘ them that were gone before, but looking on my right
 ‘ hand over a little run, I saw something look black, just
 ‘ by me, stopped, and heard a talking, stepped over, and
 ‘ saw a little Hutt or Wigwam with a crowd of People
 ‘ round about it, which was contrary to my former direc-
 ‘ tions: Ask’d them what they were doing? They reply’d
 ‘ there was some of the Enemy in a house, and would not
 ‘ come out. I ask’d what House? They said a Bark-
 ‘ house. I hastily bid them pull it down, and knock them
 ‘ on the head, never asking whether they were *French* or
 ‘ *Indians*; they being all Enemies alike to me. And pass-
 ‘ ing then to them, and seeing them in great disorder, so
 ‘ many of the Army in a crowd together, acting so con-

‘trary to my Command & Direction, expofing themfelves, ‘and the whole Army to utter ruine, by their fo diforderly ‘crowding thick together; had an Enemy come upon ‘them in that interim, and fired a Volley amongst them, ‘they could not have mifs’d a fhoot; and wholly neglecting ‘their duty, in not attending my orders, in fearching dili- ‘gently for our lurking Enemies in their Wigwams, or by ‘their fires, where I had great hopes, and real expectation ‘to meet with them. I moft certainly know that I was in ‘an exceeding great Paffion, but not with thofe poor mif- ‘erable Enemies; for I took no notice of half a dozen of ‘the Enemy, when at the fame time, I expected to be en- ‘gaged with fome hundreds of them, of whom we had a ‘continued account who [111] were expected from *Port* ‘*Royal* fide. In this heat of action, every word that I then ‘fpoke, I cannot give an account of, and I prefume it is ‘impossible.³¹³ I ftop’d but little here, but went directly

³¹³ Church pleads for himfelf here as if he had been blamed, which was the fact. Hutchinfon fays, “Church feeing fome of his men hovering over another hut, he called to them to know what they were doing; and upon their reply, that there were people in the houfe who would not come out, he, haftily bid his men knock them in the head; which order they immediately obferved. He was much blamed for this after his return, and excufed himfelf but indifferently. He feared the enemy might fall upon his men, whom he faw were off their guard, which put him in a paffion.” [*Hift. Mafs.* ii: 133.] No one can

properly eftimate his conduct, without remembering that he had been led, by the ftatements of his prifoners, to believe that he was near to a very large force of the enemy, who might fall upon his little company at any moment in overwhelming force, aided, as they would be, by darknefs, the foreft, and their own fuperior knowledge of the ground; and that he alfo felt, that the moral effect of fome feverity would be good upon his favage and half-favage foes. It will be feen, that, afterward on his arrival at *Baye les Mines*, he made ufe of what happened here to good refults.

‘ up into the woods, hoping to be better employēd, with
 ‘ the rest of the Army, I listen’d to hear, and looked earn-
 ‘ estly to see what might be the next action; but meeting
 ‘ with many of the Souldiers, They told me, they had dis-
 ‘ covered nothing; we fetching a small compass round,
 ‘ came down again. It being pretty dark, I took notice,
 ‘ I saw two men lay dead as I thought, at the end of
 ‘ the house, where the door was, and immediately the
 ‘ Guns went off, and they fired every man as I thought,
 ‘ and most towards that place where I left the guard with
 ‘ Monsieur *Gourdan*. I had much ado to stop their firing,
 ‘ and told them, I thought they were mad, and I believed
 ‘ they had not killed and wounded less than 40 or 50 of
 ‘ our own Men. And I asked them what they shot at?
 ‘ They answered at a French man that ran away: but to
 ‘ admiration no man was kill’d, but he, & one of our own
 ‘ men wounded in the Leg; and I turning about, a French
 ‘ man spoke to me, and I gave him quarter. Day-light
 ‘ coming on and no discovery made of the Enemy, I went
 ‘ to the place where I had left Monsieur *Gourdan*, to ex-
 ‘ amine him, and his Sons, who agreed in their examina-
 ‘ tions; told me two of their men were abroad: It prov’d a
 ‘ damage; and further told me, That Monsieur *Sharkee*
 ‘ lived several Leagues up at the head of the River, at the
 ‘ Falls;³¹⁴ and all the *Indians* were fishing, and tending
 ‘ their Corn there; and that Monsieur *Sharkee* had sent

³¹⁴ Great Falls, — “where the water descends 20 feet in a short distance”? [Williamson’s *Hist. Me.* i: 86.]

‘down to him, to come up to him to advise about the
 ‘*Indian* Army, that was to go Westward; but he had
 ‘returned him answer, his business was urgent, and he
 ‘could not come up: and that *Sharkee*, and the *Indians*,
 ‘would certainly be down that day, or the next at the fur-
 ‘theft, to come to conclude of that matter. This was a
 ‘short Nights action, and all sensible Men do well know,
 ‘that actions done in the dark (being in the Night as
 ‘aforefaid) under so many difficulties, as we then laboured
 ‘under, as before related, was a very hard Task for one
 ‘Man, matters being circumstanc’d as in this action; which
 ‘would not admit of calling a Council; and at that time
 ‘could not be confin’d there-unto; at which time I was
 ‘transported above fear or any sort of dread; yet being
 ‘sensible of the danger in my Armies crowding so thick
 ‘together, and of the great duty incumbent on me to pre-
 ‘serve them from all the danger I possibly could, for fur-
 ‘ther improvement, in the Destruction of our implacable
 ‘Enemies; am ready to conclude, that I was very quick &
 ‘absolute in giving such Commands & Orders, as I then ap-
 ‘prehended most proper and advantageous. And had it not
 ‘been for the Intelligence I had received from the *French*
 ‘we took at *Penobscot*, as before hinted, and the false re-
 ‘port the *French* Woman (first took) gave me, I had not
 ‘been in such haste. I question not but those *French* men
 ‘that were slain, had the same good quar[112]ter of other
 ‘Prisoners. But I ever look’d at it a good Providence of
 ‘Almighty God, that some few of our cruel & bloody

‘Enemies, were made sensible of their bloody Cruelties, perpetrated on my dear & loving friends and Country-men; and that the same measure (in part) meted to them, as they had been guilty of in a barbarous manner at *Deerfield*, & I hope justly. I hope God Almighty will accept hereof, altho’ it may not be eligible to our *French* implacable Enemies, and such others as are not our friends. The fore-going Journal and this short annexment, I thought it my duty to exhibit, for the satisfaction of my Friends & Country-men, whom I very faithfully & willingly served in the late Expedition; and I hope will find acceptance with your Excellency, the Honourable Council & Representatives now Assembled, as being done from the zeal I had in the said Service of Her Majesty, and her good Subjects here.

I Remain your most humble & obedient Servant,

Benjamin Church.

This Nights Service being over immediately Col. *Church* leaves a sufficient guard with *Gourdan*, and the other Prisoners, mov’d in some Whale-boats with the rest; and as they were going spy’d a small thing upon the Water, at a great distance, which proved to be a birch Canoo, with two *Indians* in her; the Colonel presently ordered the lightest boat he had to make the best of her way and cut them off from the Shore: but the *Indians* perceiving their design run their Canoo a-shore & fled. Col. *Church* fearing they would run directly to *Sharkee* made all the

expedition imaginable; but it being ebb and the water low, was obliged to land & make the best of their way thro' the woods, hoping to intercept the *Indians*, and get to *Sharkee's* house before them; which was two Miles from where our Forces landed. The Colonel being Ancient & Unwildly, desired Serjeant *Edce*³¹⁵ to run with him, and coming to several Trees fallen, which he could not creep under or readily get over, would lay his breast against the Tree, the said *Edce* turning him over, generally had Cat luck, falling on his feet, by which means kept in the Front: and coming near to *Sharkee's* house, discovered some *French & Indians* making a Wair³¹⁶ in the River, and presently discovered the two *Indians* afore-mentioned, who call'd to them at work in the River; told them there was an Army of *English* and *Indians* just by; who immediately left their work and ran, endeavouring to get to *Sharkee's* house; who hearing the noise, took his Lady & Child, and ran into the woods. Our Men running briskly fired & kill'd one of the *Indians*, and took the rest Prisoners. Then going to *Sharkee's* house found a Woman and Child, to whom they gave good quarter: and finding that Madam *Sharkee* had left her Silk Clothes & fine linen behind her, our Forces was desirous to have pursued and

³¹⁵ This was probably a member of one of the families in the Old Colony descended from Samuel Eddy (*Ede, Edy, Eady, Eadey, Edie, Edee*), who settled in Plymouth from Cranbrooke, Kent, 1630, and left a numerous and noble

posterity. [See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iii: 336; viii: 201-206; *Congregational Quarterly*, iv: 223-238.]

³¹⁶ *Weir*, — a fence of stakes and brush set in a river for the purpose of catching fish.

taken her: But Col. *Church* forbid them, saying he would have her run and suffer, that she might be made sensible, what hardships our poor People had suffered by them, &c. Then proceeded to examine the Prisoners newly taken, who gave [113] him the same account he had before; of the *Indians* being up at the Falls, &c. It being just Night prevented our Attacking of them that Night. But next Morning early they mov'd up to the Falls (which was about a Mile higher:) But doubtless the Enemy had some Intelligence by the two afore-said *Indians*, before our Forces came, so that they all got on the other side of the River and left some of their goods by the Water-side, to decoy our Men, that so they might fire upon them; which indeed they effected: But thro' the good Providence of God never a Man of ours was kill'd, and but one slightly wounded. After a short dispute Col. *Church* ordered that every Man might take what they pleased of the Fish which lay bundled up, and to burn the rest, which was a great quantity. The Enemy seeing what our Forces were about; and that their stock of Fish was destroyed, and the season being over for getting any more, set up a hedious Cry, and so ran all away into the woods; who being all on the other side of the River,³¹⁷ ours could not follow them. Having done, our Forces March'd down to their Boats at *Sharkee's*, and took their Prisoners, Bever, and other Plunder which they had got, and put it into their Boats, and

³¹⁷ The New-Brunswick side; the river being here the dividing line between the States and the British possessions.

went down to *Gourdans* house, where they had left Lieut. Col. *Gorham* & Maj *Hilton*, with part of the Forces to guard the Prisoners; (and kept a good look-out for more of the Enemy) who upon the Colonels return, gave him an account that they had made no discovery of the Enemy since he left them, &c. Just then Her Majesty's Ships and Transports arriving. The Commanders of Her Majesty's Ships told Col. *Church* that they had orders to go directly for *Port Royal Gut*, and wait the coming of some Store-Ships, which were expected at *Port Royal* from *France*; and Col. *Church* advising with them, proposed that it was very expedient and serviceable to the Crown, that Capt. *Southack* in the Province Galley should accompany them, which they did readily acquiesce with him in. Upon which the Colonel immediately embark'd his Forces on board the Transports, and himself on board Capt. *Jarvis*; ³¹⁸ ordering the Commissary of the Stores, the Minister, Surgeons & Pilots all to embark on board the same Vessel with him; ordering all the Whale-boats to be put on board the Transports and then all to come to Sail. The Ships standing away for *Port Royal Gut*, ³¹⁹ and Col. *Church* with the Transports for *Menis*: ³²⁰ In their way the Colonel inquired of the Pilot — *Fellows*, ³²¹ What depth of Water there was in the Crick near the Town of *Menis*? He answered him that there was Water enough near the

³¹⁸ Commander of the frigate *Adventure*; as will be seen from the document commencing on the next page.

³¹⁹ See note 286, *ante*.

³²⁰ See note 238, *ante*. *Les Mines* was about half-way from *Port Royal* to *Beau-bassin*, or *Chiegnecto*.

See note 296, *ante*.

Town to flote that Veffel they were in at low Water. So when coming near, Col. *Church* obferved a Woody Ifland³²² between them and the Town, that they run up on the back-fide of the faid Ifland, with all their Tranfports undiscovered to the Enemy, and came to Anchor. Then the Colonel and all his Forces embark'd in the Whale-boats, it being late in the day mov'd directly for the Town, and in the way ask'd for the Pilot, whom he expected was in one of the Boats; but he had given him the flip, and tarried behind. The Colonel not know[114]ing the difficulties as might attend their going up to the Town; immediately fent Lieut. *Gyles*,³²³ who could fpeak *French*, with a Flag of Truce up to the Town with a Summons, which was writ before they landed, expecting their furrender: which is as followeth.

Aboard Her Majesty's Ship Adventure near the Gut of Menis, June 20. 1704 An agreement made by the Field Officers commanding Her Majesty's Forces for the prefent Expedition againft the French Enemies, and Indian Rebels.

Agreed.

That a Declaration or Summons be fent on Shoar at Menis and Port Royal, under a Flag of Truce.

³²² From Charlevoix's map, this would feem to be *Groffe Ile*.

³²³ *John Gyles* was fon of Thomas (who lived firft in Merry-meeting bay, was made prifoner, efcaped to England, came back to live on Long Ifland, went

thence to Pemaquid, where he was Juftice, and was killed by the Indians, 2 Aug., 1689); was captured at his father's death, when 14 years of age, and carried to Canada; whence, after a fervitude of feveral years, he was purchafed

Particularly,

We declare to you, the many Cruelties and Barbarities that you and the Indians have been guilty of towards us, in laying waste our Country here in the East at Casco, and the Places Adjacent: Peculiarly, the Horrid action at Deerfield this last Winter, in Killing, Massacring, Murdering and Scalping without giving any notice at all, or opportunity to ask quarter at your Hands; and after all carrying the Remainder into Captivity in the height of Winter (of which they kill'd many in the Journey,) and expos'd the rest to the hardships of Cold and Famine, worse than death it self. Which Cruelties we are yet every day exposed unto, and exercised withal.

We do also declare, That we have already made some beginnings of Killing and Scalping some Canada Men (which we have not been wont to do or allow) and are now come with a great number of English & Indians, all Volunteers, with resolutions to subdue you, and make you sensible of your Cruelties to us by treating you after the same manner.

At this time we expect our Men of War and Transport Ships to be at Port Royal. (we having but lately parted with them.)

by a French trader during Col. Hawthorn's Eastern Expedition, and restored to his home and friends; he thereafter for many years served the Government in the army, and as an interpreter; he

printed, 1736, a memoir of his father; died 1755. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* ii: 326; Sewall's *Anc. Dom. Me.* 195-204; Willis's *Law, Courts, and Lawyers, Mc.* 32.]

In the last place, We do declare to you, That inasmuch as some of you have shown kindness to our Captives, and Express'd a love to and desire of being under the English Government, We do therefore notwithstanding all this, give you timely Notice, and do demand a Surrender immediately, by the laying down your Arms, upon which we promise very good Quarter; if not, you must expect the utmost Severity.

<i>To the Chief Commander of the Town</i>	Benjamin Church Colonel.
<i>of Menis, & the Inhabitants thereof,</i>	John Goreham Lieut. Col.
<i>& we expect your answer positively</i>	Winthrop Hilton Major.
<i>within an hour.</i>	

Then moving to the Crick expecting to have had Water enough for the Boats, as the Pilot had inform'd them, but found not Water enough for a Canoo; so were oblig'd to land,³²⁴ intending to have been up at the Town before the hour was out, that the Summons expressed: (For their return was, That if our Forces would not hurt their Estates, that then they would Surrender, if otherwise intended, they should fight for them, &c.) But meeting with several Cricks near 20 or 30 foot deep, which were very Muddy and Dirty, so that the Army could not get over them; was oblig'd to return to [115] their Boats again, and wait till within Night before the Tide served for them to go up to the Town; and then intended to

³²⁴ That is, their boats soon grounding, they were obliged to get out of them into the mud, and wade toward the shore; which they were unable to accomplish successfully on account of

the intervention of some creeks of deep water, which forced them back to the boats, and compelled them to wait in them for the tide to rise, — under the circumstances, a profane result!

go up pretty near the Town, and not to fall on till Morning, being in hopes that the banks of the Cricks would shelter them from the Enemy: but the Tides rising so high exposed them all to the Enemy; who had the Trees & Woods to be-friend them. And so came down in the Night & fired smartly at our Forces; but Col. *Church* being in a Pinis³²⁵ that had a small Cannon plac'd in the head, ordered it to be charg'd several times, with Bullets in small bags, and fired at the Enemy, which made such a rattling amongst the Trees, that caused the Enemy to draw off; and by the great Providence of Almighty God not one of our Forces was hurt that Night; (but as I have been informed they had one *Indian* kill'd, and some others wounded, which was some discouragement to the Enemy.) Next Morning by break of Day, Col. *Church* ordered all his Forces, (and plac'd Maj. *Hilton* on the right wing,) to run all up driving the Enemy before them, who leaving their Town to our Forces, but had carried away the best of their Goods (which were soon found by our Souldiers.) The bulk of the Enemy happening to lye against our right Wing caused the hottest dispute there, who lay behind Logs and Trees, till our Forces, and Maj *Hilton* who led them, came on upon them, and forc'd them to run; and notwithstanding the sharp firing of the Enemy at our Forces, by the repeated Providence of God there was never a Man of ours kill'd or wounded. Our Souldiers not having been long in Town before they found

³²⁵ Pinnacle.

considerable quantities of Strong Drink (both Brandy & Clarat) and being very greedy after it, especially the *Indians*, were very disorderly, firing at every Pig, Turkey or Fowl they saw, of which were very plenty in the Town; which indanger'd our own Men: Col. *Church* perceiving the disorder, and firing of his own Men, ran to put a stop to it, had several shot come very near him; and finding what had occasion'd this disorder, commanded his Officers to knock out the heads of every Cask of Strong Liquor they could find in the Town,³²⁶ to prevent any further disturbance amongst his Army; knowing it was impossible to have kept it from them, especially the *Indians*, if it was saved, &c. Then some of the Army who were desirous to pursue the Enemy, having heard them driving away their Cattel, Requested the Colonel to let them go; who did: and gave them their orders. Capt. *Cooke*, and Capt. *Church* to lead the two Wings, and Lieut. *Barker*³²⁷ who led the Colonels Company in the Center: and the said Capt. *Cooke* and Capt. *Church* desired Lieut. *Barker*

³²⁶ A practical "temperance" movement, deserving extended imitation!

³²⁷ There may have been three "Lieut." Barkers then living, who might have been connected with Church's company: Lt. Robert, and Lt. Francis, both of Duxbury, and both sons of Robert; and Lt. John, of Andover, son of Richard. The latter died 1722; Robert had a dau. born 18 April, 1704; Francis, I do not trace later than 1689. As Church's company would be

likeliest to be officered from Plymouth Colony, it seems probable that one of the Duxbury brothers is the one referred to; and, of these, I incline to the opinion that it was Robert. [Savage's *Gen. Dict.* i: 115; Winfor's *Hist. Duxbury*, 223; Abbot's *Hist. Andover*, 200; *Plym. Col. Rec.* vi: 218.] Charlevoix says that the "Lieutenant-General of the English forces" was killed — a mistake of Barker's rank. [*Hist. Nouv. France.*]

not to move too fast; so that he might have the benefit of their assistance, if he had occasion; but the said Lieutenant not being so careful as he should have been, or at least was too eager, was shot down, and another Man; which were all the Men that were kill'd in the whole Expedition. Towards Night Col. *Church* ordered some of his Forces to pull down some of the Houses, and others to get Logs [116] and make a Fortification for his whole Army to lodge in that Night, that so they might be together: and just before Night ordered some of his Men to go see if there were any Men in any of the Houses in the Town; if not, to set them all a fire: which was done, and the whole Town seemed to be of a fire all at once, &c. The next Morning the Colonel gave orders to his Men to dig down their Dams,³²⁸ and let the Tide in to destroy all their Corn, and every thing that was good, according to his Instructions; and to burn the Fortification which they had built the Day before: And when the Tide serv'd to put all their Plunder which they had got into the Boats. Then ordering his Souldiers to March at a good distance one from another; which caus'd the Enemy to think that there was

³²⁸ Haliburton says that there are vast marshes skirting this *Baye les Mines* (Bafon of Mines), which, "when enclosed with dikes, and well drained, are exceedingly fertile, yielding, for several years in succession, abundant crops of wheat, and alternate rotations of hay and grain, without the aid of manure." He adds: "the marshes, formed by the rivers emptying into the Bafon of

Mines, are very superior to those in other parts of the Province — the water of that extraordinary reservoir being not only discolored, but actually turbid, with the great quantity of matter held in solution by it." [*Hist. Nov. Scot.* ii: 363.] The Acadians had probably already begun this form of tillage, and these dikes to which Church here refers are thus explained.

not less than a thousand Men (as they said afterwards;) and that their burning of the Fortification, and doing as they did, caused the Enemy to think that they were gone clear off and not to return again. But it proved to the contrary, for Col. *Church* and his Forces only went aboard their Transports, and there staid till the Tide serv'd; in the Night embarked on board their Whale-boats, landed some of his Men, expecting they might meet with some of the Enemy mending their Dams; which they did, and with the Boats went up another branch of the River, to another Town or Village;³²⁹ upon such a surprize took as many Prisoners as they could desire. And it happened that Col. *Church* was at the French Captains House when two Gentlemen that came Post from the Governour of *Port Royal* to him, who was the Chief Commander at *Menis*, with an Express to send away two Companies of Men to Defend the Kings Fort there; and to give him an account, That there was three *English* Men of War come into *Port Royal Gut* or Harbour; and that the Men sent for must be Posted away with all speed. Col. *Church*, as was said before, being there, treated the two Gentlemen very handsomely, and told them, He would send them back again Post to their Master upon his business; and bid them give him his hearty thanks for sending him such good News, that part of his Fleet was in so good a Harbour. Then reading the Summons to them that he had sent to *Menis*. Further added, That their Master the Governour of *Port Royal* must im-

³²⁹ *Pigiguit*, on the river of the same name, now the Avon?

mediately fend away a Post to the Governour of *Canada* at *Quebeck*, to prevent his further sending any of his cruel & bloody *French* and Salvages, as he had done lately upon *Deerfield*, where they had committed such horrible and bloody outrages upon those poor People, that never did them any harm, as is intollerable to think of; and that for the future, if any such Hostilities were made upon our Frontier Towns, or any of them, He would come out with a thousand Salvages, and Whale-boats convenient, and turn his back upon them, and let his Salvages Scalp & Rost the *French*; or at least treat them as their Salvages had treated ours: Also gave them an account of part of that action at *Passamequado*, and how that his Souldiers had Kill'd & Scalp'd some *Canada* Men [117] there, and would be glad to Serve them so too, if he would permit them. Which terrified them very much,³³⁰ &c. The two French Gentlemen that came Post made solemn Promises that they would punctually do the Colonel's Message to their Governour. So with the desire of the French People there that the Governour might have this Intelligence, Col. *Church* dismiss'd them, and sent them away; telling the same Story to several of the Prisoners, and what they must expect if some speedy course was not taken to prevent further outrages upon the *English*. The number of Prisoners then Present (which were considerable) did unanimously intreat of Col. *Church*, that he would take them under the Protection of the Crown of *England*;

³³⁰ See note 313, *ante*.

making great Promises of their fidelity to the same, begging with great Agony of Spirit to Save their Lives, and to protect them from his Salvages, whom they extreemly dreaded: As to the matter of the Salvages, He told them, It would be just Retaliation for him to permit his Salvages to treat the *French* in the same manner, as the *French* with their Salvages treated our friends in our Frontier Towns: But as to his taking them under the Protection of the Crown of *England*, he utterly refused it, urging to them their former Perfidiousness; they also urging to him, that it would be impossible for any *French* to live any where in the Bay of *Fundy*, if they were not taken under the *English* Government; for with the benefit of those Whale-boats,³³¹ (as the *English* called them) they could take and destroy all their People in the Town of *Menis* in one Night: But he reply'd to them, It should never be; alledging to them that when they were so before, when *Port Royal* was taken last by the *English* that it prov'd of very ill consequence to the Crown of *England*, & the Subjects thereof in our Frontiers; for that our *English* Traders supplying them; enabled them (which opportunity they im-

³³¹ The stress laid upon "whaleboats," both by Church in his report of his last expedition (p. 147) and his letter to Gov. Dudley (p. 131), and by the enemy, is explained by the fact that the enormous rise and fall of the tides in and near the Bay of Fundy made landing from, and coasting in, ordinary vessels — in that day when wharf conveniences were of the most primitive

description — exceedingly difficult; a difficulty which the boats removed, since they could act as tenders, and leave the ship in deep water; and by the fact, that their swiftness made them more formidable in the pursuit of canoes than any other craft then in use, and their light draft enabled them to go in shallow water, and their light weight made them especially available at the *portages*.

prov'd) to supply the *Indians* our bloody Enemies; and therefore he could make no other Terms of Peace with them than that; if they the *French* at *Menis*, *Signecto* and *Canada*, would keep at home with their bloody Salvages, and not commit any Hostilities upon any of our Frontiers, we would return home & leave them; for that we lived a great distance off, and had not come near them to hurt them now had not the blood of our poor Friends and Brethren in all the Frontiers of our Province cryed for Vengeance; especially that late unheard of Barbarity committed upon the Town of *Deerfield*; which wrought so generally on the hearts of our People, that our Forces came out with that Unanimity of Spirit, both among the *English* and our Salvages, that we had not, nor needed a Prefs'd Man among them. The Colonel also telling them, That if ever hereafter any of our Frontiers East or West were Molested by them, as formerly, that he would (if God spared his Life,) and they might depend upon it, Return upon them with a thousand of his Salvages, if he wanted them, all Volunteers, with our Whale-boats, and would pursue them to the last Extremity. The Colonels warm discourse with them [118] wrought such a consternation in them, which they discovered by their Panick fears and trembling, their hearts sensibly beating, and rising up as it were ready to choke them; confessed they were all his Prisoners, and beg'd of him, for JESUS sake, to Save their Lives, and the Lives of their poor Families; with such melting Terms as wrought relentings in the Colonels

Breast towards them; but however, he told them, That his intent was to carry as many Prisoners home as he could, but that he had taken so many, they were more than he had occasion for, nor desired any more; and therefore he would leave them.³³² The Colonel resolving the next day to compleat all his action at *Menis*, and so draw off. Accordingly, sent his orders to Col. *Gorcham* and Maj *Hilton*, with all the *English* Companies both Officers and Souldiers, except some few, which he thought he might have occasion for to go with the *Indians* in the Whale-boats up the Eastward River,³³³ where a third part of the Inhabitants Lived; that so he might prevent any reflection made on them, in leaving any part of the Service undone. And therefore in the evening ordered all the Whale-boats to be laid ready for the Nights Service; and accordingly when the Tide Served, he went with his *Indians* up the River, where they did some spoil upon the Enemy going up. In the Morning several of their Transports came to meet them, to their great rejoycing, on whom they went on Board, and soon came up with the whole Fleet, with whom they joyned, bending their course directly towards *Port Royal*, where they were ordered. Coming to *Port Royal Gut* where their Ships were, and calling a Council

³³² Penhallow says the expedition "took a hundred prisoners." [*Ind. Wars*, 30.]

³³³ The *Cobeguit*, or *Cobequid* bay,

terminating in Salmon river; from which was a *portage* over to *Tatamagouche* on Northumberland Strait, perhaps 7 miles in length.

according to his Instructions, drew up their result: Which is as followeth.

Aboard the Province Galley, 4th. July 1704.

In Port Royal Harbour.

*Present all the Field Officers and
Captains of the Land Forces.*

WE whose Names are hereunto Subscribed, having deliberately consider'd the cause in hand, whether it be proper to Land all our Forces to offend & destroy as much as we can at Port Royal, all or any part of the Inhabitants thereof, and their Estates, We are of Opinion, that 'tis not for our Interest & Honour, and the Countrys whom we Serve, to Land or expose our Selves; but quit it wholly, and go on about our other business we have to do, for this Reason, That we Judge our Selves Inferiour to the Strength of the Enemy; and therefore the Danger & Risque we run, is greater than the advantage we can, or are likely to obtain, seeing the Enemy hath such timely Notice, and long opportunity to Provide themselves against us, by our Ships lying here in the Road about Twelve Days, before we could joyn them from Menis, where we were during that time, and being so very meanly provided with necessaries convenient for such an Undertaking with so small a Number of Men, not being above Four hundred capable and fit for Service to Land; and understanding by all the Intelligence we can get

from both English & French Prisoners, that the Fort is exceeding Strong.

John Gorcham Lieut. Col. *Winthrop Hilton* Major. [119]

Having, Pursuant to my Instructions taken the advice of the Gentlemen above Subscribed, and considering the weight of their Reasons, I do Concur therewith.

<i>Jos.³³⁴ Brown</i>	<i>Constant Church</i>
<i>James Cole</i>	<i>John Dyer</i>
<i>John Cook</i>	<i>Joshua Lamb</i>
<i>Isaac Myrick</i>	<i>Caleb Williamson</i>
<i>John Harradon</i>	<i>Edward Church</i>

Benj. Church.

WHereas Col. Church hath desired our Opinions, as to the Landing the Forces at Port Royal, they being but 400 Effective Men to Land, and by all the Information both of French & English Prisoners, the Enemy having a greater number of Men, and much better provided to Receive, than they are to Attack them, We do believe 'tis for the Service of the Crown, and Preservation of Her Majesty's Subjects to act as above mentioned.

Thomas Smith. Geo. Rogers. Cypryan Southack.

After this, they concluded what should be next done; which was, that the Ships should stay some Days longer at *Port Royall Gut*, and then go over to *Mount Desart* Harbour, and there stay till Col. Church with his Transports came to them. Being all ready, the Colonel with his Transports & Forces went up the Bay to *Signet*, where they needed not a Pilot, being several of them well acquainted there: (and had not met with so many difficul-

³³⁴ Misprint for *John*. This captain's name is distinctly stated to be *John* (p. 138). See note 278, *ante*.

ties at *Menis*, had it not been that their Pilot deceiv'd them;³³⁵ who knew nothing of the matter, kept out of the way and Landed not with them, &c.) And coming to *Signecto*,³³⁶ the Enemy were all in Arms ready to receive them, Col. *Church* Landing his Men; the Commander of the Enemy waving his Sword over his head, bid a Challenge to them: The Colonel ordering his two Wings to March up a-pace, and come upon the backs of the Enemy, himself being in the Center, and the Enemy knowing him, (having been there before) Shot chiefly at him; (but thro' Gods goodnefs received no harm, neither had he one Man kill'd, nor but two slightly wounded) and then ran all away into the Woods, and left their Town with nothing in it; having had timely Notice of our Forces, had carryed all away out of the reach of our Army; for Col. *Church* while there with part of his Forces Ranged the Woods, but to no purpose: Then returning to the Town, did them what spoil he could; according to his Instructions, and so drew off, and made the best of their way for *Passamequado*, (and going in) in a great Fog, one of their Transports ran upon a Rock, but was soon got off again. Then Col. *Church* with some of his Forces embark'd in their Whale-boats, and went amongst the Islands, with an intent to go to *Sharkee's* where they had destroyed the Fish;³³⁷ but observing a Springgy place in a Cove, went on Shore to get some Water to drink, it being a Sandy beach, they

³³⁵ That is "they would not have met with so many difficulties, &c."

³³⁶ *Beau-bassin*. See note 229, *ante*.

³³⁷ See p. 161.

espy'd Tracks, the Colonel presently ordered his Men to scatter, and make a search; soon found *De Boiffes*³³⁸ Wife, who had formerly been Col. *Church's* Prisoner, and carried to *Boston*; but returned, who seemed to be very glad to see him: She had with her two Sons that were near Men grown; the Colonel ordering them a part, Examined the Woman first, who gave him this account following, That she had lived thereabouts ever since the Fleet went by, and that she had never seen but two *Indians* since, who came in a Canoo from *Norrigiwock*; who ask'd her, what made her to be there alone? She told them, She had not seen a *French* Man nor an *Indian* except those two since the *English* Ships went by. Then the *Indians* told her there was not one *Indian* left except those two, who belong to the Gut of *Cancer*, on this side of *Canada*: for the Fryers coming down with the *Indians* to Monsieur *Gordans*, and finding the French-men slain, and their Hair spoiled, being Scalp'd, put them into a great Consternation; and the Fryers told them it was impossible for them to live thereabouts, for the *English* with their Whale-[120] boats would serve them all so; upon which they all went up to *Norrigiwock*: Also told her that when the *English* came along thro' *Penobscot*, they had swept it of the Inhabitants, as if it had been swept with a Broom, neither *French* nor *Indians* escaping them. Further told her, That when their Fathers the Fryers, and the *Indians*

³³⁸ *Du Bois* ? probably taken prisoner when Church was here before, in a previous expedition.

met together at *Norrigiwock* they call'd a Council, and the Fryers told the *Indians*, That they must look out for some other Country, for that it was impossible for them to live there; also told them there was a River call'd *Mossipppe*³³⁹ where they might live quietly and no *English* come near them: It being as far beyond *Canada* as it was to it, &c. and if they would go and live there, they would live & dye with them, but if not they would leave them, and never come near them again. Whereupon they all agreed to go away; which they did, and left their Ruff household-stuff, and Corn behind them, and went all, except those two for *Canada*. Also her Sons giving the same Intelligence, so we had no reason to think but that it was true. Col. *Church* having done what he could there, Embark'd on board the Transports and went to Mount *Desart*, where he expected to have met with the Ships from *Port Royal Gut*; and going into the Harbour at Mount *Desart*, found

³³⁹ The *Mississippi* (Ind. *Miche Sepe*; called by the early Jesuits *Meſſi-Sipi*). As early as 1669, Father *Marquette* resolved upon visiting this wonderful river, of which rumors came to him from the savages. It is first mentioned in the "*Relations des Jéfuites*," in 1670, as "*une grande Riviere large d'une lieüe et davantage, qui venant des quartiers du Nord, coule vers le Sud, et si loin que les sauvages qui ont navigé sur cette Riviere, allant chercher des ennemis à combattre, après quantité de journées de navigation, n'en ont point trouvé l'embouchure, quie ne peut estre que vers la Mer de la Floride, ou celle de Cali-*

fournie." [*Relation*, 1670:80.] In 1673, *Marquette*, with *Louis Jolliet*, reached the river, and descended it probably as far as the mouth of the *Arkansas*. (His narrative of this journey may be found in *Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*; having been first published, in 1681, in *Thévenot's Recueil de Voyages*.) Of course, his information had added certainty to all vague floating rumors before existing; and the Jesuits in *Canada*, before the date of this expedition of Col. *Church*, were able to speak with some confidence of this wonderful stream. [See *Relations des Jéfuites*, 1670: 91, 100; 1671: 24, 47.]

no Ships there, but a Runlet³⁴⁰ rid off by a line in the Harbour, which he ordered to be taken up, and opening of it found a Letter, which gave him an account that the Ships were gone home for *Boston*. Then he proceeded & went to *Penobscot*; where being come, made diligent search in those Parts for the Enemy, but could not find or make any discovery of them, or that any had been there since he left those Parts, which caus'd him to believe what *De Boiffes* Wife had told him was true. (I will only by the way just give a hint of what we heard since of the Effects of this Expedition, & then proceed.) [First, That the *English* Forces that went next to *Norrigiwock* found that the Enemy was gone, & had left their Ruff household-stuff and Corn behind them; also not long after this Expedition, there were several Gentlemen sent down from *Canada* to concert with our Governour about the settling of a Cartile³⁴¹ for the Exchange of Prisoners; and that the Governour of *Canada* has never since sent down any Army upon our Frontiers (as I know of) except some times a Scout of *Indians* to take some Prisoners, that he might be informed of our State, and what we were acting &c. and always took care that the Prisoners so taken should be Civily Treated, and safely Returned, as I have been informed; that some of the Prisoners that were taken gave an account; so that we have great cause to be-

³⁴⁰ "*Rundlet* (probably *q. d. Roundlet*),—a clofe cask for Liquors, containing from three to twenty Gallons."—*Bailey*.

³⁴¹ *Cartel* (from *cartellus*, from *char-*

tula, diminutive of *charta*, i.e., a "little writing"),—a writing, or agreement, between States at war, as for the exchange of prisoners. [*Webster*.]

lieve that the Message Col. *Church* sent by the two *French* Gentlemen from *Menis* to the Governour of *Port Royal* took Effect, and was a means to bring Peace in our borders, &c.] Then Col. *Church* with his Forces embark'd on board the Transports, and went to *Casco Bay*, where they met with Capt. *Gallop* in a Vessel from *Boston*, who had brought Col. *Church* further Orders; which was to send some of his Forces up to *Norrigiwock* in pursuit of the Enemy; but he being sensible that the Enemy were gone from thence, and that his Souldiers were much wore-out & fategu'd in the hard Service they had already done, & wanted to get home, call'd a Council, and agreed all to go home, which accordingly they did. To Conclude this Expedition, I will just give a hint of some treatment Col. *Church* had before & after he came home: for all his great Expences, Fategues & Hardships in and about this Expedition, (*viz*) He received of his Excellency *Fifteen Pounds* as an earnest Peny towards Raifing of Volunteers; and when he came to receive his Debenture³⁴² for his Colonels Pay, there was 2 s. 4 d. due to him; and as for his Captains Pay,³⁴³ & Man *Jack* he has never received any thing as yet. Also after he came home some ill minded Persons did their endeavour to have taken away his Life, for that there was some of the *French* Enemy Kill'd this Expedi-

³⁴² *Debenture*, — a writing or certificate signed by a public officer in evidence of a debt due; so called because, in Latin, such documents used to begin *Debentur mihi*, &c.

³⁴³ His commission was twofold (see p. 136) appointing him Captain of the first company of his command, as well as Colonel of all the forces embarked upon the expedition.

tion:³⁴⁴ but his Excellency the Governour, the Honourable Council and House of Representatives saw cause to Clear him, and gave him Thanks for his good Service done.³⁴⁵

³⁴⁴ Church's language here might almost suggest that some attempt had been made to bring him to a capital trial for alleged malfeasance in the matter at *Passamaquoddy* (p. 157). But I find no evidence of any thing of the sort.

³⁴⁵ The original edition of 1716 gives evidence of that "cutting the coat according to the cloth," which was not unusual in books of that time, and which is not wholly unknown now. In the endeavor to come out even at the end of a page and of a signature, the

last two pages are set in type of smaller size than the rest of the volume, the "spaces" are made thinner, and 51 lines are crowded into a page whose measure has been 42. In this process of compression, the *MSS.* doubtless suffered somewhat; and, could we recover the last page from which Green's compositors worked, we should be quite likely to find one or two closing remarks from the blunt yet courtly old warrior, which the inexorable demands of the "form" excluded.

FINIS.





CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.





Chronological Table of Events.

(~~See~~ It will be noticed that the dates are comparatively few which can be exactly identified.)

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
—	Last of Oct.	1688	Church received Andros's express at Little Compton	1
—	" "	"	Church went to Boston	2
—	" "	"	" Returned home	3
Th.	18 April	1689	The Revolution which deposed Andros	3
—	- July	"	Church waited on Governor Bradstreet, by request	4
—	- "	"	Church went to Rhode Island to ask assistance	5
—	- Aug.	"	Church returned to Boston, reporting progress, and goes to raising volunteers	5
F.	6 Sept.	"	Church commissioned by Governor Hinkley for the First Expedition	6
M.	16 "	"	Church received his instructions from Danforth	8
T.	17 "	"	Church received his commission from Massachusetts, as Major	9
W.	18 "	"	Church received his instructions from Massachusetts, as Major	11
—	" "	"	Church sailed for Falmouth, Me.	16
—	—	"	" Had a fight with the Indians	20
—	—	"	" Ranged the country	28
M.	11 Nov.	"	" Held a council of war at Scarborough	29

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
W.	13 Nov.	1689	Church held a council of war at Falmouth	29
—	— Jan.	1689 ^{8 9}	Church returned home	32
W.	16 „ ?	„	„ Went back to Boston, to plead for the down-easters . .	32
Th.	6 Feb.	„	Church left his plea for them on the Council Board, and went home in disgust	33
—	— April	1690	Church goes to Charlestown, when the Canada Expedition is about to sail, to see his friends off . .	37
—	—	„	Church has an interview with the Governor and Council.	39
—	—	„	Church goes to Barnstable, to see Governor Hinkley	40
—	—	„	Church raises forces, and marches them to Plymouth	41
T.	2 Sept.	„	Church is commissioned for the Second Expedition, by Governor Hinkley.	42
W.	3 „ ?	„	Church reaches Portsmouth	47
T.	9 „	„	„ Receives Major Pike's Instructions	48
—	—	„	Church sailed for Pejepscot, and marched to Androscoggin . . .	50
S.	14 Sept.	„	Church took the fort	51
—	—	„	„ Went to <i>Maquait</i>	56
W.	17 Sept.	„	„ Reached Saco.	56
—	—	„	„ Chased the Indians	57
S.	20 Sept.	„	„ Bivouacked at <i>Purpooduck</i> . . .	60
M.	22 „	„	„ Came to "Cape Neddicke" . . .	64
T.	23 „	„	„ Sent scout to Saco	64
F.	26 „	„	„ Got back to Portsmouth . . .	65
S.	—	„	„ Sailed for Boston in the sloop Mary.	66
—	— Oct.	„	„ Lodged at Captain Alden's . . .	67
T.	— „	„	„ Borrowed 40s. of Brayton . . .	68
—	—	„	„ Rode home on a borrowed horse	68

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
Th.	27 Nov.	1690	Church wrote to some Eastern gentlemen	69
M.	29 June	1691	The Eastern gentlemen replied . .	79
—	—	1692	Church, on request of Major Walley, from Governor Phips, goes to Boston to consult about the Third Eastern Expedition . .	83
M.	25 July	—	Church receives Phips's commission	83
—	—	—	„ Raises volunteers	84
—	- Aug.	—	„ Embarks for <i>Pemaquid</i> . .	85
—	—	—	„ Works on the fort there . .	86
Th.	11 Aug.	—	„ Is commissioned for Penobscot, &c.	87
—	—	—	„ Ranged those regions, destroying corn, &c. . .	89-90
—	—	—	„ Returned to <i>Pemaquid</i> . . .	90
—	—	—	„ Has more orders for the <i>Kennebec</i>	90
—	—	—	„ Had a fight, and burned <i>Teconnet</i> Fort. . . .	91
—	—	—	„ Returned to <i>Pemaquid</i> . . .	92
—	—	—	„ Came back to Boston and Bristol	92
—	—	1696	„ Is at Boston as Deputy from Bristol	93
—	—	„	„ Is persuaded to go East on a Third Expedition . .	93
—	—	„	„ Raises volunteers	93
M.	3 Aug.	„	„ Is commissioned by Lieutenant Governor Stoughton . .	94
W.	12 „	„	Church receives his instructions . .	96
S.	15 „	„	„ Sailed for Portsmouth . .	99
S.	22 „	„	„ „ York	100
—	—	„	„ „ <i>Monhegan</i>	101
—	- Sept.	„	„ (in boats) went up the Penobscot Bay	101
—	—	„	„ Had a skirmish, and took captives	103-7
—	—	„	„ Back to the ships	108

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
—	—	1696	Church sailed for <i>Beau Basin</i> .	109
—	—	"	" Thence to St. John . . .	116
—	—	"	" On their way home from thence interrupted and superseded by Colonel Hathorne . .	123
—	—	"	Church home again . . .	127
—	1 Feb.	170 $\frac{3}{4}$	" Waited on Governor Dudley to offer his services against the Indians and French, being moved thereto by late shocking outrages . . .	130
S.	5 "	"	Church writes Governor Dudley his ideas on the best way of carrying on another expedition . .	131-135
—	—	"	Church goes to work to fit out the Fifth Expedition . . .	136
S.	18 March	"	Church receives Dudley's commission . . .	136
—	- "	"	Church raises volunteers in all the towns of the three counties of the Old Colony . . .	137
—	—	1704	Church marches his troops to Nantasket . . .	138
Th.	4 May	"	" Receives his instructions .	141
—	—	"	" Went by land to Portsmouth . . .	145
—	—	"	" Raises another company there . . .	145
—	—	"	" Moves to <i>Matinicus</i> . .	146
W.	7 June	"	" Takes prisoners who give him information . . .	146
—	- "	"	" Went up the river, had a fight, and took prisoners, some of whom were knocked on the head	150-157
—	- "	"	Church failed to take <i>Chartier</i> .	160
—	- "	"	" Burned the Indians' fish .	161
—	- "	"	" Returned, went on board the transports, and sailed for <i>Port Royal</i> and <i>Les Mines</i> .	162

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF EVENTS.

Day of Week.	Day of Month.	Year.	E V E N T.	Page.
T.	20 June	1704	Church reached <i>Les Mines</i> , and summoned its surrender . . .	163-5
W.	21 "	"	Church burned the town, and took many prisoners . . .	166-8
Th.	22 "	"	Church dug down their dams, and spoiled their crops; and at night captured <i>Pigiguit</i> . . .	168-169
F.	23 "	"	Church took <i>Cobeguit</i> , &c. . .	173
—	— "	"	" Sailed for <i>Port Royal</i> . .	173
T.	4 July	"	" Had a council of war at <i>Port Royal</i> . . .	174-175
—	— "	"	" Went up to <i>Beau Basin</i> , which they spoiled again	175
—	—	"	" Sailed for <i>Passamaquoddy</i>	176
—	—	"	" Took Du Bois's wife prisoner . . .	177
—	—	"	" Sailed for <i>Mount Desert</i> , and so to Casco, and home . .	178-180
—	—	"	The Governor, Council, and House of Representatives clear Colonel Church of all imputations of misconduct, and give him thanks for his good service done . . .	181





I N D E X.





I N D E X.

THE Roman numerals refer to pages in the Introduction. The Arabic figures refer to pages in the "History," the numbering in all cases being found at the bottom of each successive page. The names of Indians are in *italics*.

A.

Adams, Rev. William, of Dedham, xiv.;
Nathaniel, 77 *note*.

Addington, Isaac, notice of, 11 *note*.

Alden, Capt. John, a naval commander,
66 *note*, 67 *note*, 74; mention of him,
110, 120; William, 107.

Alexander, or *Wamfutta*, son of *Musfoit*, succeeds his father, xx.; brought to Plymouth, xxi.; not ill treated there, xxii.; the facts related, *ibid.*; dies, *ibid.*

Alger, Andrew, killed, 27 *note*.

Allen, Rev. James, of Boston, xiii.

Allyn, Samuel, of Barnstable, 42.

Amos, Capt., commands an Indian company, 7 *note*.

Andrews, Elisha, 29 *note*, 64 *note*, 74;
James, 64 *note*; Samuel, *ibid.*

Andros, Sir Edmund, his history, 1 *note*;
sends for Capt. Church, 1; sent prisoner to England, 32; date of this event, *ibid. note*.

Androscoggin, or Amerascogen, described, 49 *note*.

Arnold, Rev. Samuel, of Marshfield, xiii.

Atherton, Rev. Hope, of Hatfield, xv.

Austin, Matthew, 73 *note*.

B.

Baker, Rev. Nicholas, of Scituate, xiv.;

Thomas, a prisoner to the Indians,
escapes, 58; notice of him, *ibid. note*.

Barbarities of the Indians, 129.

Barker, Lieut., killed at Les Mines, 168.

Barnard, Benjamin, 54 *note*.

Bailett, William, 29 *note*.

Belcher, Andrew, 140 *note*.

Berry, Thomas, 27 *note*.

Billinggate Point, described, 42 *note*.

Bit, a silver coin, its value, 85 *note*.

Black Point, where, 28 *note*; a fort
there, *ibid.*

Blue Point, where, 29 *note*.

Boad, Henry, 107 *note*.

Bourne, Rev. Richard, missionary, xvii.

Bowers, Rev. John, of Branford, xiv.

Brackett, Anthony, 17 *note*; account
of, 21 *note*; shot by the Indians, *ibid.*,

INDEX.

- 27 *note*; his children, 21 *note*; Anthony, his son, escapes, 60; again mentioned, 104, 120.
- Bradford, William, deputy-governor, xxi. xxii. 40 *note*.
- Bradstreet, Rev. Simon, of New London, xiv.; Simon, governor of Massachusetts, 3; his history, *ibid.* *note*; lends for Church, 4.
- Bramhall, Mr., of Casco, mortally wounded, 27 *note*.
- Brayton, Stephen, of Portsmouth, R.I., a drover, 68; lends money to Church, *ibid.*; Francis, *ibid.*
- Bridgway, or Bourgeois, Jarman, 111, 112, 113.
- Brimfnead, Rev. William, of Marlborough, xv.
- Brock, Rev. John, of South Reading, xiv.
- Brown, John, captain in Church's Fifth Expedition, 138, 175; notice of him, 138 *note*.
- Browne, Rev. Edmund, of Sudbury, xiv.; Thomas, of Casco, wounded, 27 *note*.
- Buckingham, Rev. Thomas, of Saybrook, xiv.
- Bulkley, Rev. Edward, of Concord, xiii.; Rev. Gerthom, of Wethersfield, xiv.
- Burton, Thomas, 27 *note*.
- Buttolph, Priscilla, 10 *note*.
- Byfield, Nathaniel, of Bristol, 40 *note*, 69 *note*.
- C.
- Carter, Rev. Thomas, of Woburn, xiv.
- Casco, in danger from Indians, 17; fight with Indians there, 23-26; arrangements made by Church for their safety, 30; he returns home, 31; Casco taken by the Indians, and the inhabitants killed or carried away, 36; the dead remain unburied two years, 85 *note*; buried by Phips's soldiers, *ibid.*
- Caslin, Vincent de St., account of, 19 *note*; his lucrative trade with the Indians, *ibid.*; violates the capitulation of Casco, and destroys the inhabitants, 36; commands an Indian force at the taking of Fort William Henry, Pemaquid, 98 *note*; his daughter and her children taken prisoners by Church, 150.
- Cawley, or Caule, Robert, of Pemaquid, 107; notice of him, *ibid.* *note*.
- Chartier. See *Sharkee*.
- Chauncey, Rev. Nathaniel, of Windfor, xiii.
- Chubb, Pasco, surrenders Fort William Henry to the Indians, 98 *note*; is murdered at Andover, with his wife, *ibid.*
- CHURCH, Capt. BENJAMIN, at Saconet, Little Compton, 1; is sent for by Gov. Andros, *ibid.*; arrives in Boston, 2; the Governor proposes an Eastern expedition, 3; Church declines the undertaking, *ibid.*; is sent for by Gov. Bradstreet after the overthrow of Andros, 4; comes to Boston, *ibid.*; undertakes an expedition against the Indians "in the Eastern Parts," *ibid.*; goes to Rhode Island to obtain assistance, and returns to Boston, 5; his commission from the Council of War, 6; commission from the President of Maine, 8; commissioned as Major by the Governor and Council of Massachusetts Bay, 9; instructions from the Commissioners of the United Colonies, 11; his FIRST EASTERN EXPEDITION, 16; arrives at Casco, *ibid.*; hears of Indians in the

INDEX.

neighborhood, 17; orders given by him, 19: embarrassed by the bullets furnished being too large, 22: his force attacked by a body of Indians, *ibid.*; their repulse, 26; he visits the garriſons at Black Point, &c., 28; holds a council of war at Scarborough, 29 *note*; makes arrangements for the ſecurity of the Eaſtern ſettlements, 30; returns home at the approach of winter, 31; ſpends three weeks in Boſton, 33; repreſents to the Governor and Council the expoſed condition of the Eaſtern ſettlements, 33-35; this repreſentation not attended to, 36; ſlender compenſation of Church, *ibid.*; his SECOND EASTERN EXPEDITION, 37; he comes again to Boſton, 38; the Council conſult him in reſpect to the war, 39; his anſwer, 40; goes to Barnſtable to ſee Gov. Hinckley, *ibid.*; raiſes a force, and marches with it to Plymouth, 41; finds no preparation there, *ibid.*; commiſſioned by the Council of War of Plymouth Colony for a ſecond expedition to Maine, 42; their inſtructions to him, 44-47; arrives at Piſcataqua [Portſmouth], 47; receives inſtructions there from Major Pike, 48; fails for Pejepſcot, 50 *note*; lands at Maquoit in Freeport, *ibid.*; releaſes two Engliſh captives, 51; takes the fort at Pejepſcot [Brunſwick], *ibid.*; ſpares an Indian captive, 55; kills others, *ibid.*; returns to Maquoit, 56; fails to Winter Harbor [Saco], *ibid.*; puts the Indians to flight, 57; diſagreement between him and his captains, 59; arrives at Purpoodyuck, 60; encounters Indians there, 62; comes to Wells, 64; and to Portſmouth, 65; ſends home his ſoldiers,

66; fails for Boſton in ſloop Mary, *ibid.*; deſtitute of money, and gets none from the government, 67, 68; tries to borrow a ſmall ſum. and is reſuſed, 67; borrows forty ſhillings of a drover, 68; returns home, *ibid.*; a loſer by his patriotic ſervices, *ibid.*; his letter to Wheelwright and others, reſpecting the miſrepreſentations which had been made of his conduct, and his conſequent loſs of favor from the government, 69-76; ſtate of things in Maine after Church's departure, 74; application to him from gentlemen at the eaſtward for help againſt the Indians, 79, 80; his anſwer, 81; his THIRD EASTERN EXPEDITION, 82; invited by Gov. Phips to accompany him in his expedition into Maine, 83; Church conſents, and receives a commiſſion, *ibid.*; is forced to borrow money in order to go, 84; arrives at Pemaquid, 85; is diſinclined to have a fort built there, 86; is ſent to fight the Indians on the Penobſcot, *ibid.*; his inſtructions from Phips, 87; ranges thoſe parts, and deſtroys the enemy's corn, 90; returns to Pemaquid, *ibid.*; is ordered to the Kennebec, *ibid.*; has a bruſh there with the Indians, *ibid.*; returns once more to Pemaquid, 92; returns to Boſton, and again deprived by the government of his juſt dues, *ibid.*; is a deputy in the General Court from Briſtol, 93; his FOURTH EASTERN EXPEDITION, *ibid.*; raiſes a volunteer force, *ibid.*; receives a commiſſion from Lieut. Gov. Stoughton, 94; his inſtructions to Church, 96, 97; fails for Piſcataqua, 99; lands at York, 100; proceeds to Saco, *ibid.*; arrives at Monhegan, 101; aſcends

INDEX.

Penobscot Bay and River as far as Old Town, 102, 103; returns to his vessels at the mouth of the river, 106; visits Mount Desert and other places, but finds no enemy, 108; sails up the Bay of Fundy and lands at Beau Basin, 110; the enemy take to flight, 111; Church takes several prisoners, 112, 113; penetrates into the country, and returns to Beau Basin, 114; his discourse with the Acadians, 114, 115; restrains his Indian followers from hurting them, 115; enters the river St. John, 116; skirmish with the French, 117; is superseded by Col. Hathorne, 123; returns to Boston, 127; his FIFTH EASTERN EXPEDITION, 128; he offers his services again to the government, 130; his plan for a campaign against the Indians, 131-135; his commission from Gov. Dudley, 136; raises volunteers, 137; in this incurs heavy expense, not reimbursed, 138; requests permission to attack Port Royal in Acadia, 139; is denied, 140, 141; his instructions from Gov. Dudley, 141-145; proceeds on the expedition, 146; takes prisoners and obtains information from them, 147-149; takes Castin's daughter at Penobscot, 150; scours the coast as far as Passamaquoddy, 150, 151; writes to Dudley a history of his proceedings, 151-159; his actions at Passamaquoddy, 152; is greatly displeased with a party of his own soldiers, and why, 156; a busy night, 157; embarks for Les Mines, 162; demands the surrender of that town, 163; the document inserted, 163-165; takes possession of the town, 166; makes a "temperance movement," 167; burns the town, 168; takes many prisoners,

169; sends a threatening message to Port Royal and Quebec, with good results, 170; his conference with the prisoners taken at Mines, 171; tells them of Deerfield, and threatens retaliation, 172; the prisoners greatly frightened, *ibid.*; he sails for Port Royal, 173; a council of war dissuade from an attack on that place, 175; the document given, *ibid.*; takes possession of Chignecto, or Beau Basin, after a skirmish, 176; returns to Passamaquoddy, *ibid.*; receives information that the Indians had gone to Norridgewock, 177; sails to Mount Desert, 178; to Calco, and returns to Boston, 180; receives thanks, but no pay, 180, 181. See Chronological Table, at the close of the volume.

Church, Caleb, of Watertown, brother of Benjamin, 68; notice of him, *ibid. note*; his children, *ibid.*; Constant, captain in the Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 146, 175; Edward, captain in the same expedition, 139, 167, 175.

Clark, Thaddeus, of Falmouth. 25 *note*, 29 *note*; killed by Indians, *ibid.*; his family, *ibid.*; Walter, governor of Rhode Island, notices of him, 5 *note*; his family, *ibid.*; Isaac, *ibid.*; William, captain, notice of him, 140 *note*.

Cobbet, Rev. Thomas, of Ipswich, xiii.

Cole, James, captain in the Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 153, 175.

Collins, Rev. Nathaniel, of Middletown, xv.

Connecticut, towns settled therein, in 1675, x.

Converse, Capt. James, of Woburn, with Church, 60; notices of him, *ibid. note*; comes to Boston with Church, 66; destitute of money, 67.

INDEX.

Cook, John, captain in Church's Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 146, 167, 175.
 Cooke, Dr. Elisha, 15 *note*.
 Cotton, Rev. John, of Plymouth, xiii.; Rev. Seaborn, of Hampton, xiii.
 Cushing, John, of Scituate, 40 *note*.
 Cutt, Richard, 76 *note*; John, 80 *note*.

D.

Dane, Rev. Francis, of Andover, xiv.
 Danforth, Rev. Samuel, of Roxbury, xiii.; Thomas, president of Maine, his commission to Church, 8; notices of him, 9 *note*.
Daniel, Capt., leader of an Indian company, 7 *note*.
 Davis, Ambrose, 29 *note*; Silvanus, notices of, 14 *note*; his residence, 18 *note*; present at a council of war, 29 *note*.
 Deerfield destroyed by the Indians, 128, 129; this moves Church to undertake his Fifth Eastern Expedition, 130; he threatens the French with similar treatment, 164, 170.
 Deering, James, 21 *note*.
Doney, half Frenchman, half Indian, 51 *note*, 57 *note*.
 Drake, Abraham, 21 *note*.
 Dudley, Joseph, governor of Massachusetts, his commission to Church, 136; notices of him, *ibid. note*; his family, *ibid.*; his instructions to Church, 141-145.
 Dummer, Rev. Shubael, of York, xv.
 Dyer, John, captain in Church's Fifth Expedition, 139, 175.

E.

Easton, John, his account of a conference between Philip and the English, xxviii.

Eaton, Daniel, 37 *note*.
 Ebens [Evans], Edward, 27 *note*.
 Eddy, Edee, sergeant, 160.
 Eliot, Rev. John, of Roxbury, xiii. xvii.; Rev. Joseph, of Guilford, xiv.
 Elliot, Robert, of Scarborough, 80 *note*.
 Elkins, Henry, 17 *note*.
 Emerfon, Rev. John, of Gloucester, xiv.; Rev. Joseph, of Mendon, xv.
 Estabrook, Rev. Joseph, of Concord, xiii.
 EXPEDITION, First, 16.
 Second, 37.
 Third, 82.
 Fourth, 93.
 Fifth, 128.

F.

Fellows, William, 145.
 Fernald, William, of Kittery, surgeon, 80 *note*.
 Finney, Jeremiah, of Bristol, R.I., 70 *note*; Josiah, *ibid.*
 Fitke, Rev. John, of Chelmsford, xv.
 Rev. Moses, of Quincy, xiv.
 Fitch, Rev. James, of Norwich, xv.
 Flint, Rev. Josiah, of Dorchester, xiii.
 Fobes, William, 85.
 Foxwell, Philip, 29 *note*; Richard, *ibid.*
 Freeman, John, of Eastham, 40 *note*.
 Freeze, James, mortally wounded, 27 *note*.
 Frontenac, Count, his expedition against the Maquas or Iroquois, 104 *note*.
 Frost, Charles, Major, notice of, 77 *note*.
 Fryer, Nathaniel, of Portsmouth, N.H., 76 *note*.

G.

Gallison, Elisha, 29 *note*.
 Gedney, Col. Bartholemew, commands a force at York, 99; notices of him, *ibid. note*; John, *ibid.*

INDEX.

- Gendall, Walter, 17 *note*.
 Glover, Rev. Pelatiah, of Springfield, xiii.
 Goodwin, Ozias, 16 *note*.
 Gorham, Capt. John, second in command under Church in his Fourth Expedition, 97; notice of him, *ibid. note*; is sent by Church to Winter Harbor [Saco], 100; second in command under Church in his Fifth Expedition, 138, 152, 162, 165, 173, 175.
 Gourdon, or Gourdan, a Frenchman, 148, 153, 155.
 Green, Samuel, dies of small-pox, 32 *note*.
 Gyles, John, sent with a flag of truce to demand the surrender of Les Mines in Nova Scotia, 163, 203.

H.

- Hale, Rev. John, of Beverly, xv.
 Hall, Nathaniel, 10 *note*, 12, 27, 29 *note*, 30 *note*.
 Hanford, Rev. Thomas, of Norwalk, xv.
 Haraden, John, of Gloucester, 145 *note*, 175; Edward, *ibid*.
 Hathorne, Col. John, supercedes Church in the command of the Fourth Eastern Expedition, 123, 124.
 Hawkins, John, an Indian. See *Kan-kamagus*.
 Haynes, Rev. Joseph, of Hartford, xiii. xv.
 Heard, Ann, of Cochecho [Dover], 54 *note*.
 Higginson, Rev. John, of Salem, xiii.
 Hill, John, 30 *note*.
 Hilton, Edward, 146; Winthrop, major in Church's Fifth Eastern Expedition, 146, 153, 162, 165, 173, 175.

- Hinckley, Thomas, governor of Plymouth Colony, 6; notices of, *ibid. note*, 40 *note*.
 Hobart, Rev. Jeremiah, of Topsfield, xiv.; Rev. Nehemiah, of Newton, xv.; Rev. Peter, of Hingham, xiii.
 Holmes, Rev. John, of Duxbury, xiii.
 Homes, David, killed, 27 *note*.
 Hooke, Francis, of Kittery, 80; notices of, *ibid.*, *note*.
 Hooker, Rev. Samuel, of Farmington, xv.
 Huckins, James, of Oyster River [now Durham, N.H.], 54 *note*; Robert, *ibid.*; his wife intercedes for an Indian captive, 54.
 Hunniwell, Richard, 30 *note*, 58 *note*; notices of, 77 *note*; "the Indian killer," *ibid.*; with Church at St. John, 120.

I.

- Iberville, Lemoine d', a skilful naval commander, his name strangely metamorphosed by Church, 105; founds a colony on the Mississippi, *ibid. note*.
 Indians, their numbers in 1675, x. Indians, Praying, their numbers in 1675, xvi.; improved condition of the Indians, xix.; causes of the Indian war, xxxi.; Indians accompany Church in his expedition, 20; Indians attack Church at Casco, 22; are repulsed, 26; take the fort at Pejepscot Falls [Brunswick], 39; evacuate it, 50; are put to flight at Saco, 57; and at Purpooduck, 63; kill several prisoners, 64; ask for peace, 74; their treacherous conduct, 79; attacked by Church, and their fort at Taconick [Winflow] burned, 91, 106; some are slain by

INDEX.

Church's soldiers on the Penobscot, 103; Indian barbarities at Deerfield, 128, 129.
Ingersoll, George, 29 *note*.
Inventory and equipments of a French fort, 117 *note*.

J.

Jacob, Richard, 10 *note*.
Jacobs, Nicholas, of Hingham, 72 *note*.
Jones, Rev. Eliphalet, of Stamford, xiv.
Jordan, Dominicus, 28 *note*, 57 *note*;
Rev. Robert, 28 *note*.
Jose, Richard, 17 *note*.

K.

Kankamagus, or *John Hawkins*, a sachem of Pennacook, 53 *note*, 64.
Keith, Rev. James, of Bridgewater, xv.

L.

Lafaure. See *Lefevre*.
Lamb, Joshua, captain in Church's Fifth Expedition, 139, 175.
Lane, Edward, son of Edward, of Boston, 2 *note*; his name changed to Paige, *ibid*.
Larkin, captain with Church at St. John, 120.
Lathrop, or Lothrop, John, of Barnstable, 41; his family, *ibid. note*; Joseph, of Barnstable, notice of, 73 *note*; his family, *ibid*.
Lawrence, Robert, 29 *note*, 30 *note*.
Lee, Abram, 17 *note*; Esther, his wife, gives information concerning Indians, 19; Samuel, minister of Bristol, R.-I., his history, 70 *note*.

Lefevre, Lafebure, or Lafaure, a prisoner to Church in his Fifth Expedition, 147.
Lightfoot, a friendly Indian captain, 22.
Little, Isaac, of Marthfield, 40 *note*.
Littlefield, John, son of Edmund of Wells, 73 *note*.
Losses sustained by the colonies in Philip's War, xxxi.
Loyall, Fort, in Falmouth, 17 *note*.

M.

Maine, progress of colonization in, in 1675, ix.
Mashpee Indians furnished soldiers in Church's expeditions, and in the Revolutionary War, 20 *note*.
Martin, or Martyn, Richard, notice of, 80 *note*.
Maïon, Samuel, notice of, 15 *note*; John, killed, 27 *note*.
Massachusetts, progress of colonization therein, in 1675, ix.
Massachusetts Indians, number in 1675, x.
Mather, Rev. Increase, of Boston, xiv.
Maxwell, James, notice of, 39 *note*.
Mayflower company, survivors in 1675, xi.
Mayhew, Rev. John, of Tisbury, xv; Experience, 7 *note*.
Mitton, Michael, 21 *note*, 25 *note*, 64 *note*.
Moody, Rev. Joshua, of Portsmouth, xv.
Myrick, or Mirick, Isaac, captain in Church's Fifth Eastern Expedition, 139, 153, 175.

N.

Narragansetts, their number in 1675, x.
New England, its condition in 1675, ix.
xvii.; losses by Philip's War, xxxi.

INDEX.

New Hampshire, progress of colonization in, in 1675, ix.
 Newman, Rev. Noah, of Rehoboth, xiv.
 Newton, Rev. Roger, of Milford, xiv.
 Nipmuk Indians, number in 1675, x.
Numpas, a friendly Indian in Church's First Expedition, 7 *note*, 20 *note*, 27, 37 *note*.

O.

Oakes, Rev. Urian, of Cambridge, xiii.

P.

Paige, Nicholas, of Boston, meets Col. Church in Braintree, 2; his history, *ibid. note*.
 Paine, John, 110.
 Palmer, Mr., of Casco, wounded, 27 *note*; John, 29 *note*.
 Palfgrave, John, 81 *note*.
 Parker, Rev. Thomas, of Newbury, xiii.
 Pautucket Indians, number in 1675, x.
 Pemaquid, extent of application of the word, 85 *note*; Church, as second in command to Gov. Phips, arrives there, 85; description of the fort built there by Phips [Fort William Henry], 86 *note*; the fort taken by the enemy four years after, 98.
 Pepperell, William, notice of, 143 *note*.
 Pequots, their numbers in 1675, x.
 Perkins, Rev. William, of Topsfield, xiv.
Philip, or *Pometacom*, the Indian chief, accused of plotting against the English, xxiii.; goes to Plymouth, xxiv.; misconceptions of his character and plans, xxv.; had not been ill-treated by the English, *ibid.*; extravagantly overrated, xxvi.; Dr. Palfrey's ac-

count of him more just, *ibid.*; no proof of any extensive plot of his, *ibid.*; reported conference between him and the English, xxviii.

Phillips, Rev. Samuel, of Rowley, xiv.
 Phips, Sir William, his eventful history, 82 *note*; invites Church to accompany him on his Eastern Expedition, 83; gives him a commission, *ibid.*; constructs a strong fort at Pemaquid [Fort William Henry], 86 *note*; returns to Boston, 91; his wife signs a discharge for a lady accused of witchcraft, *ibid. note*.

Pike, Robert, Major, of Salisbury, raises soldiers for Church, 48; his instructions to Church, 48-50; notice of him, 48 *note*; letter of Church to him, respecting reports circulated to Church's disadvantage, 77.

Pitkin, William, account of, 15 *note*, 49 *note*.

Plaisied, Ichabod, 66.

Plymouth Colony, its slow progress in wealth and population, xviii.; pays the debt incurred in Philip's War, xxxi.; engages in the war with the Eastern Indians, 6; its commission to Church, 6, 42; schedule of the number of soldiers required of each town in 1689, 6 *note*; a similar schedule in 1690, 43 *note*; debt incurred by the Colony for the Eastern war, *ibid.*

Pokanokets, number in 1675, x.

Pollard, William, an inn-keeper in Boston, 38 *note*.

Portsmouth, Church arrives there, 47; small-pox there, 65; Church there again, *ibid.*; its name changed from Strawberry Bank, 66 *note*.

Prince, Samuel, 7 *note*.

Prout, Timothy, 31 *note*.

INDEX.

R.

- Ramfdell, Jofeph, of Lynn, flain by Indians, 63 *note*.
 Reyner, Rev. John, of Dover, xiii.
 Rhode Ifland, progrefs of colonization in 1675, x.; its condition at that time, xvii.
 Rogers, George, 145, 146, 175.
 Row, Giles, killed, 27 *note*.
 Rowlandfon, Rev. Jofeph, of Lancafter, xv.
 Ruffell, Rev. John, of Hadley, xv.

S.

- Saffin, John, 15 *note*.
Saffamon, difclofes Philip's plot againft the Englilh, xxiii.; murdered, xxiv.
 Scammon, Richard, 17 *note*; Anne, *ibid.*; Humphrey, of Saco, 57 *note*.
 Scottow, Jofhua, 28 *note*; Thomas, *ibid.*; notices of him, 31 *note*, 36.
 Sewall, Samuel, notices of him, 38 *note*.
 Sharkee, or Chartier, 148, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161.
 Shepard, Rev. Thomas, of Charlestown, xiii.
 Sherman, Rev. John, of Watertown, xiii.
 Shove, Rev. George, of Taunton, xiii.
 Small-pox in Bolton, 32, 37; in Portfmouth, 65; on board of fome of Church's tranfports, *ibid.*; fome of his men feek to deceive him in regard to it, *ibid.*
 Smith, Rev. John, of Sandwich, xiii.; Thomas, commander of the frigate *Jerfe*y, 145, 146, 175.
 Southack, Cyprian, commander of the Province galley, 123 *note*, 143, 162, 175.

- Southworth, William, a lieutenant in Church's Firft Expedition, 27; account of him, *ibid.* *note*; chofen by the Indians their captain, 37 *note*.
 Sparrow, Jonathan, of Eaftham, 40 *note*.
 Sprague, William, of Hingham, 68 *note*.
 Spurwink, where, 28 *note*.
 Stoddard, Rev. Solomon, of Northampton, xv.
 Story, Jofeph, 73, 76.
 Stoughton, William, Lieut. Gov., his commiffion to Church, 94; notice of him, *ibid.* *note*; his letter to Church, transferring the command to Col. Hathorne, 123, 124.
 Street, Rev. Nicholas, of New Haven, xiv.
 Swain, Jeremiah, notice of, 13 *note*.
 Swarton, John, from the ifland of Jerfe-y, 23; killed by Indians at Cafeo, *ibid.* *note*; Hannah, taken by Indians, *ibid.*; Jofhua and Joanna, *ibid.*; Mary, *ibid.*

T.

- Thacher, Rev. Thomas, of Bolton, xv.; John, of Yarmouth, 40 *note*.
 Thaxter, Thomas, 27 *note*.
 Thomas, Nathaniel, notices of, 72 *note*; his family, *ibid.*
 Thorpe, Robert, of York, 107 *note*.
 Tolman, Peter, of Newport, 68 *note*.
 Torrey, Rev. Samuel, of Weymouth, xiii.
 Trading-houfes, or truck-houfes, Church's opinion of them, 134.
 Treat, Rev. Samuel, of Eaftham, xiv.
 Tyng, Edward, 25 *note*, 136 *note*.

V.

- Vaughan, William, of Portfmouth, N. H., 76 *note*; his family, *ibid.*; he and

INDEX.

others apply to Church for help
against the Indians, 79; George, 81
note.

Villebon, Chevalier, 114 *note*.

W.

Wakeman, Rev. Samuel, of Fairfield,
xiv.

Waldron, or Walderne, Major Richard,
17 *note*; his children, *ibid.*; Esther,
his daughter, a captive to the Indians,
ibid.

Walker, Rev. Zechariah, of Woodbury,
xv.

Walley, Major John, 10 *note*, 15 *note*,
37, 40 *note*; is desired by Gov. Phips
to speak to Church about going again
to Maine, 83; Rev. Thomas, of Barn-
stable, xiv. 42 *note*.

Walton, Shadrach, colonel and judge,
51 *note*; his family, *ibid.*; George,
ibid.; Benjamin, *ibid.*

Ward, Rev. John, of Haverhill, xiv.

Waterhouse, Richard, 81 *note*.

Wells, Rev. Thomas, of Amesbury, xv.

Whale-boats, much used in Church's
Fifth Expedition, 131, 139, 147, 150,
151, 159, 169, 171, 177; explanation
of their special value in such an affair,
171 *note*.

Wheelwright, Rev. John, of Salisbury,
xiv.; John, Esquire, of Wells, 73 *note*,
75; letter addressed to him by Church,
69-76.

Whiting, Rev. Samuel, of Lynn, xiii.;
Rev. Samuel, of Billerica, xv.

Whitman, Rev. Zechariah, of Hull, xiv.

Wigglesworth, Rev. Michael, of Malden,
ibid.

Willard, Rev. Samuel, xv.; Simon,
notices of, 10 *note*, 29 *note*.

William Henry, fort at Pemaquid, de-
scribed, 86 *note*; taken by the French
and Indians, 98 *note*.

Williams, Eunice, wife of Rev. John,
of Deerfield, slain by Indians, 128.

Williamson, Capt. Caleb, 139, 175;
notice of, 139.

Wilson, Rev. John, of Medfield, xiv.

Wincol, John, of Kittery, 80 *note*.

Winflow, Josiah, brings Alexander, the
Indian sachem, to Plymouth, xxi.

Winter, John, notice of, 56 *note*.

Winter Harbor, 56 *note*.

Witchcraft delusion, 91 *note*.

Witherell, Rev. William, of Scituate,
xiv.

Withington, Mary, 9 *note*.

Woodbridge, Rev. Benjamin, of Wind-
sor, xv.; Dorothy, 76 *note*; Rev. John,
of Killingworth, xv.

Woodman, John, of Little Compton,
84.

Worombos, an Indian sachem, 53, 64.

Y.

York, Joseph, pilots Church up the
Penobscot, 102, 105, 106.

NOTE.

My attention has been kindly called, by the Rev. J. A. Vinton, — who has prepared the foregoing Index, — to sundry statements in note 323 (p. 163), concerning the Gyleses, father and son, which he conceives to be inaccurate. Those statements were made upon the testimony of Sewall, who expressly refers, in regard to some of them, to an incomplete MSS. narrative of the Rev. Mr. Vinton, of the date of 1853, and who was therefore supposed to have, in this case, special authority. In order to place the reader in possession of all the facts, however, I gladly append here the following, prepared by Mr. Vinton, — containing facts subsequently brought to light, — which note, if it had not been too late, would have been substituted for the note referred to.

H. M. D.

John Gyles (p. 163 *ante*), born in what is now the town of Topsham, Me., about the year 1678, was son of Thomas Gyles (who, after a residence of some years on Merrymeeting Bay, where the Androscoggin joins the Kennebec, went to England to attend to some family matters, then returned to New England, and purchased a large farm at Pemaquid, where he was Chief-Justice, under the ducal government, of the County of Cornwall, and was killed by the Indians, Aug. 2, 1689); was carried off by the Indians, after his father's death, to their savage haunts on the upper waters of the river St. John, in the present province of New Brunswick. After severe sufferings among them during six years, he was purchased by a French gentleman residing on that river; who treated him kindly, and who, three years afterward, permitted him to return to his friends at Boston. He served the Government of Massachusetts thirty-eight years, with some interruptions, as interpreter in their transactions with the Indians, and as commander of several military posts on the frontiers; was a man of great courage, and of stern, unbending integrity; retired from the military service in 1737, and took up his residence in Roxbury, near Boston, where he died in 1755, aged 77. In 1736, he printed a narrative of his adventures, which is still extant. [Vinton's *Giles Memorial*, pp. 103-111, 122-129.]



